

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

## The Monitor's view

### End of era in Israel

Israel's friends and adversaries abroad are bound to be stunned by the victory of the right-wing Likud in last week's parliamentary elections. The defeat of the Labor Party, which has ruled since the nation's founding, is a development of major proportions. On the face of it, it will certainly delay, if not set back, the quest for a negotiated Middle East peace settlement.

The reasons are apparent. Menahem Begin, leader of the Likud, is an avowed硬liner. He has been intransigently opposed to giving up all Arab territory seized in the 1967 war in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist. He has favored annexing the occupied West Bank and Gaza, where the Arabs would like to establish a nation for Palestinians.

Given this militant position, then, the big question is whether Mr. Begin will modify it if he emerges as prime minister. So far the signals give some reason for cautious hope that he may. He has already stated publicly he will form a wide-ranging coalition government and open talks with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, possibly at a peace conference in Geneva.

That remains to be seen of course. In any event, the imperative now is that the Arab states not react as if all the chances for negotiations this year were automatically down the drain. Clearly it will take a while to form a new Israeli government and for the political dust to settle. In this period the front-line Arab leaders can best contribute to diplomatic momentum by continuing their moderate, flexible stance — and talking peace. It can be argued that a more conservative leader in Israel will be better able to make the concessions necessary to achieve a compromise settlement (an argument we would not overdraw, however). Until it becomes plain what tack Mr. Begin will take, it is important that the diplo-

matic situation not be permitted to deteriorate due to impatience and harsh rhetoric.

Meanwhile, Israel's first order of business is to put its political house in order. Recent polls suggest that it was primarily domestic issues rather than foreign policy which figured in the election results. If so, this would encouragingly indicate that Israelis are not asking for a tougher line against the Arabs — a development that would make peace even harder of achievement — but for reform of their government, an elimination of scandal and corruption, and new policies to lift the nation out of its economic difficulties. To the extent that the Israeli people voted against the kind of financial manipulation and deceit that have dogged the Labor Party of late, one can only sympathize with their desire for a cleanup. Their democracy after all is precious to the whole world and a strengthening of its vitality and integrity can only benefit the cause of peace.

However, the Labor Party's loss is less to the right-of-center Likud than to the Democratic Movement for Change, a fast-growing political newcomer that has called for dramatic political and social reforms. If the vote for the Democratic Movement, headed by archaeologist Yigael Yadin, is combined with that for the Labor Party this would represent a pretty solid bloc. In other words, there has not been a groundswell of public support for the Likud, a fact that could result in a rather weak government in Israel.

It is not even certain whether the other parties will participate in a coalition. To the extent they are brought in, however, this will have a moderating effect on Israel's overall policy. Mr. Yadin's position, for instance, is less hawkish than that of the Likud. If the Likud agrees to go along with the kind of domestic reforms Mr. Yadin seeks, the two parties conceivably could work together.

### Phasing out oil — together

The energy challenge facing America — and other nations — is not simply what President Carter called the "moral equivalent of war." As coined by William James, the phrase originally meant a morally acceptable equivalent of the adventure and glory men thought they saw in war. But there is no moral equivalent for selfish pursuit of national interests. And, as shown by the 15-nation Workshop on Alternative Energy Strategies (WAES) reported in today's Monitor, the energy shortage calls for unprecedented international cooperation, not competition.

As with all such studies, the WAES conclusions are only as good as the economic and resource estimates that underlie them. To some extent, these are unavoidably arbitrary and subjective. However, since they reflect the assumptions behind national energy planning in the noncommunist industrial world, which consumes most of the energy, they make a telling point. No energy policy planned largely from a national viewpoint is realistic. Even allowing for "wise" conservation and substitution of alternative fuels, these national policies count on importing oil to meet expected needs. The WAES study holds out little hope for doing this. Putting all the national energy projections together, it finds that, sometime between now and 2000, perhaps in the 1980s, there would no longer be enough oil to go around.

### From Britain to the United States — a fresh young face

Heckling in the House of Commons notwithstanding, the British Government's selection of Peter Jay to be Her Majesty's Ambassador to Washington is an excellent one. The heckling of course took place because Mr. Jay is Prime Minister James Callaghan's son-in-law. The appearance of nepotism does not sit well among British any more than American lawmakers nor should it.

But the only regrettable thing about the Jay appointment is indeed the family link, and since Mr. Jay has so many fine attributes for



WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

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## Oil: greatest user meets greatest producer

### President Carter and Saudi's Crown Prince Fahd talk oil and peace

By Joseph C. Hartley

There was a summit meeting in Washington this past week. It was not called or billed as such, yet it was the most important meeting in terms of the economic welfare of the United States and of its friends and allies since Jimmy Carter became President of the United States. At stake was the price and supply of oil from the Middle East to the oil-consuming industrial countries of the world.

Mr. Carter was receiving Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia. Mr. Carter was representing and speaking for all of the main oil consumers. Prince Fahd was speaking for the world's single biggest oil exporter. It was as though the Emperor of the West was negotiating with the Grand Calif of Mecca for the means of keeping the workshops of the Industrial world going at accustomed pace. Prince Fahd could shut them down overnight were he to be disappointed.

At issue is Mr. Carter's ability and willingness to deliver what Prince Fahd must have if his country is to continue to be a moderating influence among the oil-producing countries of OPEC (Organization of Oil Producing Countries).

Recently Saudi Arabia has held down the price of oil as the other producers seek to drive it up. This year the others want a 15 percent rise. Washington would like to see no rise at all, but knows that there must be some since the price of Western industrial goods sold to the oil producers keeps going up. The probable outcome will be the Saudis holding the line to 10 percent.

Experts said that if the fire had occurred at or near the main oil terminals the entire supply of Saudi oil could have been shut off for as much as six to eight months. The United States runs on a two-week reserve. West Europe has reserves enough for three or four months. No industrial country has enough oil reserves to keep going at full blast for six months.

Before leaving for Washington Prince Fahd met in Riyadh with President Sadat of Egypt and President Assad of Syria. In a newspaper interview at the time he said: "We have taken the initiative in the question of oil prices. The United States should now embark on a similar initiative."

President Carter must have been thinking of the relationship between oil and the occupied Arab territories on Monday (May 23) when he said of the Middle East:

"This may be the most propitious time for a general settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order also."

\*Please turn to Page 18



By Albert J. Forbes, staff artist

## Two crowns for Brezhnev?

By David R. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

post-Khrushchev shake-up in the Kremlin.

Diplomats say Mr. Brezhnev's aims are: (1) to take full ceremonial as well as actual power himself just as a number of Eastern European leaders have done; (2) to prepare for his own long-awaited succession; and (3) to try to ensure that he will be treated kindly by history.

He is thought determined to be the first party chief since Lenin not to sink into oblivion as soon as he leaves office.

Diplomats are inclined to listen carefully to Mr. Louis's interpretation of events. Mr. Louis was the first correspondent to report the fall from power of Nikita Khrushchev in 1968.

A number of diplomats think that Mr. Brezhnev will move, perhaps next year after taking over the two posts, to appoint his own successor as party chief.

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## In celebration of wheels

By Melvin Muddocks  
A three-column cutaway drawing featuring the most sophisticated detail appeared in a recent issue of the Village Voice. The Concorde engine, perhaps? Or the latest intercontinental ballistic missile? Maybe the newest weapon-control device?

Wrong, wrong, and wrong. The caption read: "Diagram of the fabled Magnon skateboard, showing its complex engineering" — down to the last IKS precision bearing.

Once are the days when a skateboard was

old roller skates lashed to a side of orange crate. A proper skateboard costs from \$60 to well over \$100, and with optional accessories — gloves, wrench, special grip tape, and so on — the total tab can run to \$300. Custom wheels bear names like Cadillac and Rolls-Royce. There is even this obligatory magazine — Skateboarder — to arbitrate the fad.

Skateboards, roller skates (yes, they're back, too), tandems, mopeds, 10-speed bicycles or even one-speed bicycles — spring brings out all the wheels.

One imagines the tools of power, from crossbow to atomic bomb, being invented during the winter. Gray skies outside. Frozen, barren earth. Inside a windowless lab, pale faces scowl over their deadly inspirations — the descendants of Vulcan, hammering away at his airless forge.

On the other hand, the tools of mobility — all the wheels — must have been invented outdoors, in the spring, the season for travel and, if you will, escape.

The usual scenario supposes that the first stone wheel was devised as a utilitarian object, sort of a Stone Age truck: the swarthy product of an Ernest Borgnine-like Cro-Magnon man. Of course, the wheel did not immediately catch on. It took a while for the wheel to become widely used. After all, who would want to roll a wheel across the world, and I think of nothing I would do, or be more honored to be asked to do, to represent one in the other.

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By Peter Hart, staff photographer  
Why Britain thanks her  
[Special section inside]

## S. Africa's sports minister: Can he integrate the political game?

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

For the first time, a South African Cabinet minister has given a new interpretation of ruling National Party policy that could allow for all the races in the country to share power in some sort of federal or confederal system, on the Swiss pattern.

Previously it has been Nationalist policy to deny any suggestion that the whites might share political power on any significant basis — even in a federation — because this would mean that the blacks would "plow the white man under."

But Dr. Piet Koornhof, the controversial Minister of Sport, who has so "adapted" the traditionally strictly segregationist Nationalist sports policy that most sports are now racially mixed under

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## EC: select club for the chosen few?

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

The European Community faces an embarrassing choice: Should it remain a cozy club of the region's richest countries? Or should it be enlarged to take in some of its poorer southern neighbors?

Nine European Community foreign ministers who met in the fairytale setting of Leeds Castle near Maidstone in Kent, England, spent most of May 21 and 22 discussing the hows and whys of admitting Greece, Portugal, and Spain to their even now far-from-homogeneous ranks.

As French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud put it, "There are many complex issues surrounding a further enlargement." The community already had been enlarged from six to nine in 1973 when Britain, Denmark, and the Irish Republic joined and, as Mr. de Guiringaud commented, it has not worked as well as hoped since then.

### Fisheries dispute

Britain is embroiled in a dispute with other community members over fishing limits (Britain wants its own exclusive 50-mile zone, as does the Irish Republic), and subsidies to pig farmers (which distorts the concept of the community as a single market).

These disputes, by and large, are between countries of similar backgrounds and standards of living. (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands are the community's original six members.) Southern Italy and the Irish Republic fall behind the other Common Market regions in terms of wealth, and there are community officials who ask how it will be possible to integrate still poorer countries such as Greece and Portugal when, after 20 years within the community, the discrepancies between industrialized northern Italy and agricultural southern Italy still cause such problems.

### The original vision

And yet, the original vision of the community was of a united, democratic Europe reborn from the ashes of a fearfully destructive war. Once the colonels' regime was overthrown in Greece, once the Salazar dictatorship was swept away in Portugal, there was no good reason not to entertain the membership applications of these two countries. Spain has not yet applied, but once the June 15 elections bring a democratic assembly into being and a new constitution is drafted, this ancient country also will be entitled to join.

The self-interest of French and Italian fruit, vegetable, and vineyard cultivators suggests long delays in accepting these new Mediterranean applicants, whose agriculture is backward and whose products compete with those of existing Common Market members.

The richer members — West Germany and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) — in effect would have to subsidize the newer ones through contributions to the common agricultural fund, just as in the community of nine they subsidize the agriculture of France, Italy, the Irish Republic, and Denmark.

## Dulles neighbors favor Concorde

Washington  
After a year of trial flights, the majority of people living near Dulles International Airport approve letting the supersonic transport land in the United States, the Federal Aviation Administration said.

In a news conference on the eve of the first anniversary of commercial SST landing at Dulles, the FAA said the Concorde also has proven no noisier than predicted and has shown itself to be less of a polluter than had been anticipated.

FAA environmental chief Charles Foster said public opinion surveys taken before and after the Concorde started U.S. operations show "more people approved of the airplane after they heard it than before they heard it."

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## Highlights

## FOCUS

### Hong Kong's big planned cities

By Frederic A. Moritz

**Hong Kong**  
By Western standards one room of living space is small.

But by any standard, the city growing up around the Chau family's new apartment is big.

The 400 cramped, but neat, square feet occupied by Mrs. Chau Sau-ying, her bus driver husband, and their three children belong to one of the world's largest planned cities. When completed by 1985 the "new town" of Shek Tin, here in Hong Kong, is to hold 500,000 new residents in a largely self-contained urban unit complete with schools, industries, shops, recreational centers, and "green space."

By then 1.5 million people are to be sheltered in three of these new towns in one of the world's most ambitious efforts to handle population growth and housing shortages. The once-rural "new territories," an area north of central Hong Kong but nonetheless part of the British colony, will hold most of them, including Shek Tin.

Those who will be moving into these new towns include 250,000 squatters and thousands more who now live in smaller, dingy apartments in older housing estates built since 1953.

The Chau family had been on a waiting list for seven years before their new flat became available in Lek Yuen, a complex for

23,000 residents completed just last year. Lek Yuen is the first of 11 such estates to be built by the government at Shek Tin for an estimated \$870 million in American money. (Hong Kong also calls its currency the dollar.)

With rents ranging from \$35 (U.S.) a month for a flat holding five tenants to \$90 for one that will accommodate 13, life at Lek Yuen costs the Chaus more than their previous home — a wooden shack vulnerable to fire end typhoon.

"But we like the open view from the balcony and the fresh, clean air," explains Mrs. Chau. She shows off her neatly arranged living room, which includes a small area with a bunk bed for sleeping quarters. A partition separates the sleeping area from the rest of the room.

The allocated space of 35 square feet per person (plus in some cases extra space to allow for family growth) does not include the closet-like toilet and kitchen, located on apartment balconies. And it is not much roomier than the 25 square feet per person in older housing units, some of which rent for as little as \$5 a month.

But the design is more cheerful, the workmanship often better, and — unlike the older units — residents do not have to depend on communal toilets and water supplies.

Income and size of present living quarters are taken into consideration in deciding eligibility for the new housing. For a family of three the maximum monthly income permitted is \$388 (U.S.). For a family of more than 10 it is \$501.

Estates such as this one are designed to meet increasing pressure for housing. At most half of Hong Kong's population is under 25, and the demand for new housing is expected to soar in the next 10 years as these people marry and start families of their own.

On the other hand, rapid expansion of these "new towns" is expected to bring some social dislocation. The relative importance of 20-story high-rises will replace closely knit villages in rural areas once covered with things like raising vegetables and pigs.

Because of the need to design these towns quickly, there was no time to consult anthropologists and sociologists for help in planning them after Hong Kong Gov. Murray MacLehose authorized the project in 1972, according to Allan Crosby, the chief planning officer for Shek Tin.

"It's a fight against time. If you are too slow, you are just treading water," Mr. Crosby explains.

But he says to limit social dislocation a number of principles of urban planning were incorporated, including sub-units with their own schools, playgrounds, and recreation halls to promote a sense of community; preservation where possible of buildings with local historic significance; and sites for shops and industry together with foot and bicycle paths so many residents could have jobs within easy reach of their living areas.

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### Moderation loses ground among Basques

By Joe Gandyman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid

The Spanish Government has opted for a compromise in the face of Basque demands for total amnesty for the 30 remaining Basque political prisoners.

Under its formula the prisoners will be freed if they agree to exile abroad for the duration of their sentences.

But the move appears to be a stopgap one and may ultimately do little to end the unrest in the Basque region unless it is followed up with substantial action in other fields.

A wave of violence in the Basque country this past fortnight resulted in four persons being killed in clashes between police and demonstrators, the murder of a policeman by the Marxist Basque separatist organization, ETA, and the kidnapping of a leading Basque industrialist, Javier de Ybarra y Berge, a former mayor of Bilbao and close friend of King Juan Carlos. ETA's political-military wing claims credit for the kidnapping.

The government's position is fragile. ETA's aim is "strategy of tension." Its theory is that ETA-promoted violence would force the government, under pressure from rightists in the military and police, to crack down on the Basques. Then, the argument goes, a revolutionary situation would develop.

This would eclipse moderate Basque forces which have recently been on the upswing. There have been ominous signs that moderate Basque attempts at "detente" with Madrid could be endangered:

The small but important Koordinadora Abertzale Socialista (KAS) has withdrawn its candidates from the upcoming legislative elections and asked moderate parties to do the same. KAS embraces Basque Trotskyites, Marxists, and leftist unions plus former ETA members who renounced "the armed struggle." If KAS-ETA militants feel democratic change is not possible they might return to the ETA "soldiers" fold.

Basques are increasingly bitter that Madrid has not checked police excesses in putting down regional protests. Nor has it halted openly operating ultra-rightist squads, which seem to be above the law. The police-Basque "war," foreign and Spanish analysts unanimously say, lies at the root of the Basque problem.

On the other hand the government's gesture on the prisoners seems to have temporarily broken Basque solidarity. KAS urges abstention in the elections, ETA urges violence, but the Socialists and powerful Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) reject such calls and refuse appeals for a new general strike. The communist workers' commissions have termed Madrid's compromise formula "a significant step," al-



Shepherd, Esquero in the Pyrenees  
By a staff photographer

In the Basque region where Spain's democracy faces a tough test

though they add, it is not completely acceptable.

Five of the Basque prisoners already have left for Belgium (other sites may be Venezuela and Algeria) and, reports suggest, 10 more prisoners may follow.

A new exile problem will now result — and a new Basque issue, return of the exiles, may soon arise. So protest will likely continue.

Thus, the government appears to have bought more time. The question is how long the time will last and whether it can be used to solve long-range problems for the Spanish regions.

### Ulster vote suggests Protestant split

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

For the first time in Northern Ireland's complicated politics, sectarian Protestant parties have won only half the total vote in the violence-prone province, although numerically, Protestants constitute two-thirds of the 1,600,000 inhabitants.

This is the most encouraging result of local elections, which saw gains by both moderate and diehard Protestant parties. It means that some Protestant voters are beginning to think in political rather than sectarian terms. The elections, for 524 seats in 28 local councils, were held May 18 but counting was not completed until four days later.

The alliance Party, which draws its strength equally from Protestant and Roman Catholics and which advocates power-sharing by the two communities, won 71 seats.

At the same time the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) led by intransigent Protestant Rev. Ian Paisley, took 73 seats. Both Alliance and the DUP took seats at the expense of Northern Ireland's traditional ruling party, the Official Unionists (and still the largest), the Official Unionists. The Unionists took 167 seats, whereas they used to hold 240.

Northern Ireland's second largest party is the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). Drawing its strength mostly from Roman Catholics, the party won 108 seats. The SDLP, headed by Gerry Fitt, also believes in power-sharing, unlike the extremist, illegal Irish Republican Army.

As a result of the elections, these parties — the Official Unionists, the DUP, Alliance, and the SDLP — have become the four that count in Northern Ireland. Moderate Unionist groups like William Craig's Vanguard Party and the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland (UPNI) won 11 seats.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Roy Mason, is expected soon to take some kind of initiative to get intra-party political talk going. He will have a difficult time. But, in the event of the elections and the abortive general strike, there is at least a sense of movement.



Ian Paisley, cock-a-hoop supporters  
By Jonathan Harsch

### THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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# Africa

## Zaire: Shaba threat over, but problems remain

By Geoffrey Geddes  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The 11-week-old threat to Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko of the immediate loss of the mineral-rich province of Shaba is over.

Spearheaded by a Moroccan expeditionary force, General Mobutu's troops have lifted the threat to the all-important railroad from the copper-mining center of Kolwezi westward to Dibolo, on the border with Angola. Unconfirmed reports say that Zaire troops, without Moroccan help, have also recaptured the towns of Sandou and Kapanga, both northeast of Dibolo.

This military success in Shaba by no means solves all General Mobutu's problems. But among its effects are the following:

- Removal of the threat — persuasive back in March — that the trouble in Shaba Province might lead to great-power intervention, with the United States backing General Mobutu and the Soviet Union and the Cubans backing the

"invaders" (natives of Shaba Province), who had entered Zaire from Angola.

- Confirmation that the low-key, cautious U.S. response to General Mobutu's appeal for help in the early days of the fighting was about right under the circumstances. The U.S. did not want to see letting a client down. But neither did it want to over-commit itself to General Mobutu under questionable circumstances.

- Confirmation that France, under President Giscard d'Estaing, remains committed where possible to an activist policy in Africa, using French-speaking African states to enhance French influence. French aircraft were used to help airlift the Moroccan expeditionary force to Zaire, and French officers were on the spot as technical advisers. The Moroccans gave the offensive against the "invaders" from Angola its edge. (Zaire, after France itself, is the second-biggest French-speaking country in the world, but it is a former Belgian — not French — colony.)

- Confirmation of Nigeria's readiness to

play a role as mediator in African affairs, offering him the leadership that Nigerians see as naturally theirs because, in many ways, their country is the giant of the continent. Nigerian Foreign Affairs Commissioner Joseph Garba shuffled frequently between Zaire and Angola during the 11 weeks of trouble, doing his utmost to keep the fighting local and extinguish it. (This week news has come of an invitation to Nigeria, from the government of Kenya, to use its good offices to ease the tensions that have developed recently along the border between Kenya and Tanzania.)

- Proof that General Mobutu himself remains one of the most resilient and subtle of African heads of government, even if his credentials are a little African "revolutionary" are questionable in many African eyes because of the company he keeps and because at home he has a record of often callous authoritarianism.

### Thrust close to calamity

When the "invaders" first crossed into Shaba, everything seemed to melt before them, and at one point they were close to taking Kolwezi, which would have been a calamitous blow to Zaire. Admittedly they had the advantage of not being foreigners. They were the remnants of the gendarmerie of Moise Tshombe, leader of Katanga (as Shaba was originally called), and they had tried to help him take the province out of Zaire in the early 1960s. But whatever their status, their initial success in March and early April of this year dealt a heavy blow at the already sagging prestige of General Mobutu.

- But the general has shown that he knows up around him and his regime.

Now the general can get back to his more strictly domestic problems: developing further national unity and integrating Shaba properly within the whole; meeting his country's growing indebtedness to outside lenders and at least to U.S. banks; and doing something about the corruption and callousness that has grown

how to bounce back. He alleged the Cubans and Russians were backing the "invaders" — something the U.S. Government has never been able to confirm. Perhaps this is why the U.S. response to his appeals was more modest — \$15 million worth of "non-lethal" supplies than he had hoped for. Cleverly, General Mobutu turned elsewhere. Weapons and equipment came from Belgium, West Germany, even China, Egypt and Uganda made gestures of support. But what turned the tide was the direct military help from Morocco and France. Just who took what initiatives to produce this contribution is not clear, but there is no reason to believe that the U.S. had any part in arranging it.

### Back to other problems

If the U.S. had been involved in General Mobutu's Shaba campaign, or more deeply in any other way with it, the consequences could have complicated things and greatly compromised the Zaire President himself. Some other Africans are unlikely to give him high marks for accepting the Moroccan-French help on the scale he did; but Africans generally tend to be more tolerant of it than they would have been of open U.S. intervention on General Mobutu's side.

The pragmatism of the Mozambicans is apparent in the presence of white South Africans to run Maputo's harbor and the railroad — now that the Portuguese colonial powers have gone and it shows in President Machel's readiness to deal with individual multinational corporations.

Yet his credentials with the guerrillas are not at all in doubt.

The closing of Mozambique's border with Rhodesia probably hurt Mozambique more than Rhodesia. And the reason President Machel liked the latest British initiative on Rhodesia is not that he thinks it could work but that the British do not talk of a guerrilla ceasefire, as they did at the Geneva conference last fall.

Those who deal with Samora Machel say he is an engaging conversationalist, direct and quick.

There seems little doubt among Western sources in the Mozambican capital that President Machel is in control of the country.

There have been human rights violations, especially after the Portuguese were alleged to have been behind a counter-coup early in Frelimo's takeover of the country.

But there have been few executions, and the basic tone has not been brutal, according to non-Mozambican sources here.

Unlike many other African countries two years after new men take power, few charges of corruption have been lodged against the Frelimo government.

Also there is an absence of ostentatious living in Maputo — although it must be added that when Frelimo took over from the Portuguese it inherited a graceful, tree-lined city with a breathtaking ocean view and thousands of villas.

Mozambique still has enormous problems: people have to stand in line for food and a

# Africa

## Mozambique: behind Machel's 'diplomatic coup'

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Maputo, Mozambique

Mozambique is emerging more and more in the role of leader of the black countries and national movements in southern Africa.

President Machel says the guerrillas won the overwhelming conclusion after a recent United Nations conference here on decolonization in Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa).

It is President Samora Machel has pulled off a diplomatic coup. By taking a somewhat moderate position at the conference, he has nudged many countries, even in the West, into a more favorable and sympathetic attitude toward him and his diplomatic initiatives.

South Africa would be less inclined to move against Mozambique's Marxist government now that President Machel has such strong backing, an Algerian source here said.

The pragmatism of the Mozambicans is apparent in the presence of white South Africans to run Maputo's harbor and the railroad — now that the Portuguese colonial powers have gone and it shows in President Machel's readiness to deal with individual multinational corporations.

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The closing of Mozambique's border with Rhodesia probably hurt Mozambique more than Rhodesia. And the reason President Machel



Sven Simon

Machel: moderation and new stature

great deal must be done to catch up in education.

But President Machel appears firmly in control. One sign of his security is that he leaves his country perhaps more than any other African head of state.

### Young was in South Africa

## The blacks who met him, those who refused and what it means

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg  
"They may be the wisest people I've talked to since I've been here [in South Africa]," said Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

He was talking of two 17-year-old students from Soweto, the black township near Johannesburg where hundreds of people were killed in political protests last year. The students sought out the Ambassador during his quick trip inside South Africa.

Ambassador Young said the two chastised him for saying that they had strayed from religion in their fight to abolish apartheid — the South African Government's race policy. When they explained what they are doing, Mr. Young said, he was glad to be chastised.

These were the most militant blacks that Mr. Young met in Africa, a fact which could be misunderstood without an explanation.

The Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Student Organization (SASO) refused to meet Mr. Young, on the ground that he should instead talk to all the black leaders — including Robert Sobukwe, who is in effect under house arrest, and Nelson Mandela, who is in prison on Robben Island.

This refusal to meet Mr. Young could be a sign that the various black groups opposing the government are moving to work together. Black activists know that the white government's divide-and-control policy toward them must be overcome if they are to be successful.

One of the obstacles to black unity, as the BPC sees it, is Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi who, at a reception for Ambassador Young, seized the limelight. A couple of blacks walked out at the point of disapproval of the chief's action.

Chief Buthelezi says he wants black unity, but the

BPC says he does not prove it when it comes down to action.

At a reception here for blacks, Coloreds (mixed race), Indians, and whites (including an Afrikaans-speaking professor from Potchefstroom University), Ambassador Young said that after he had first visited South Africa with tennis star Arthur Ashe a number of years ago, he could not get the place out of his mind. It was like getting into quicksand, he said.

This somebody, this Ambassador whose foremost talent is relating to vastly different types of people, will be sized up by South Africa's blacks. The word of what he is like and what he said will spread.

Andrew Young is himself a part of the new U.S. policy on Africa.

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# United States

## President Carter cracks foreign-policy whip

By Daniel Sotherland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Having emphasized a day earlier his determination to withdraw American troops from South Korea by reassigning an Army general who criticized this plan, President Carter gave a speech May 22 reaffirming U.S. foreign policy activism — not retreat from the world.

Among other things, Mr. Carter served notice on Israel that American policy in the Middle East will not be affected by the election victory of the hard-line Likud bloc in Israel's recent election.

"We will continue to promote a settlement which all of us need. Our own policy will not be affected by changes in leadership in any of the countries in the Middle East," the President said in a commencement address at Notre Dame.

On May 21, the day before his speech, Mr. Carter recalled Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub from South Korea for publicly criticizing his plan to withdraw all U.S. ground forces from South Korea within the next four to five years.

General Singlaub, U.S. chief of staff in South Korea, had told the Washington Post in an interview that the withdrawal would be a mistake that would lead to war.

Mr. Carter is said to have been particularly upset by the criticism because it came just as he was about to send senior officials to South Korea to discuss the withdrawal policy and just as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was beginning talks in Geneva with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations.

"This was not a time for the President to give the impression that his own generals were not in line," said a senior Defense Department official.

On the Middle East, the President said he expects Israel and its neighbors to continue to be bound by United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, which call for a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories that Israel occupied in the 1967 war. Meashe Ben-Gvir, leader of the Likud, opposes any withdrawal from the occupied territories, contending that they are actually "liberated" areas belonging to Israel.

"This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict," Mr. Carter declared in his speech at Notre Dame. "To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well."

His speech at Notre Dame, "To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well."

But Mr. Begin, in an appearance May 22 on the ABC television program "Issues and Answers," offered no hope that he is budging even an inch from his hard-line position on a Middle East settlement. He spoke of members of the Palestine Liberation Organization as "killers" and declared that a Palestinian "homeland" such as President Carter has proposed could become a base for the Soviet Union.

The President advocated that the United States should take the lead in what he described as a trend toward greater assertion of human rights throughout the world. He restated the hope, first expressed in his inauguration address, that the United States would be able to take steps, together with other nations, toward complete elimination of nuclear weapons. He called on the United States "to inspire, end to persuade, and to lead" in the shaping of a new international system that would respond to "the new reality of a politically awakening world."

Turning to relations with the Russians, Mr. Carter declared that "I believe in détente with the Soviet Union." But he warned the Soviets that U.S. cooperation with them also implies obligations on their part:

"We hope the Soviet leaders will join us in efforts to stop the spread of nuclear explosive and to reduce sales of conventional arms," Mr. Carter declared.

"We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a state's military force — as with the Cuban intervention in Angola...."

"We hope that the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help to build a bridge of mutual confidence."

The President said it is important that the United States make progress toward normalizing relations with China.

"We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy, and China as a key force for global peace," he declared.

## How President Carter's legislation is faring

By Peter C. Stuart  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Four months into his four-year term, President Jimmy Carter's legislative record in Congress has proved to be neither as stunning nor as disastrous as had been variously predicted.

There has been no 120-day outpouring of rubber-stamped initiatives from the Democratic White House by the heavily Democratic Congress. But despite some rough patches, there also has been no outright stalemate between a stubborn Georgian President and increasingly independent lawmakers.

As the chill of January has given way to the blandness of May, the new President already has achieved several of his major legislative objectives. Others are moving steadily toward enactment. A substantial number of other Carter priorities, however, are running into early trouble.

The four-month record, on balance, seems close to Mr. Carter's own pre-election prediction of the combination of an "eagerous President" and "a strong and independent Congress."

The President already can chalk up victories on at least three major legislative issues high on his list of campaign promises:

\* \$34.2 billion in tax cuts for individuals and businesses to stimulate the economy (scheduled to have been signed into law May 23).

\* Creation of 150,000 to 300,000 new public works jobs to combat national unemployment (signed in early May).

\* Authority to reorganize executive agencies, subject to veto by Congress (signed last month).

Other Carter "musts" are grinding toward passage on Capitol Hill. They include creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Energy

consolidating widely scattered energy programs, as outlined in a bill approved by the full Senate and a House of Representatives committee.

Also advancing through the legislative mill is a Carter-backed clean air bill regulating pollution from car exhaust and smokestacks. It is expected to come to a vote in the House before May 28 and in the Senate a few days later.

But a handful of other presidentially endorsed programs — including a couple of Mr. Carter's own personal favorites — have encountered opposition much stronger and much sooner than the White House evidently anticipated. All are clearly in legislative danger.

The centerpiece of the administration's electoral reform program, a bill to permit veterans to register at the polls on election day, has been postponed for action late in June. It was unceremoniously dropped recently from the House agenda to avoid possible defeat.

A proposed relaxation of the Hatch Act to al-

low federal employees fuller participation in politics has suffered a similar 11th-hour postponement. The unforeseen opposition to the bill recalls the stunning defeat in March of another measure — widening construction-site picketing — which organized labor had expected to finally see enacted after years of being thwarted by Republican presidents.

The creation of an Agency for Consumer Protection, strongly supported by Mr. Carter who takes pride in his own consumerism, is limping toward an uncertain House vote after squeaking through committee clearance by a 22 to 21 vote margin.

Key features of the President's top-priority energy conservation plan seem headed for legislative obscurity. Controversial elements such as the proposed standby gasoline tax and tax on "gas guzzling" new cars are believed likely to be revised beyond recognition, if not dropped altogether.

## The risky way to transport uranium

By Claytie Joees  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

On a cold February night, three Pinkerton guards were on duty at the nation's busiest airport, Chicago's O'Hara. Their mission: to keep an eye on the largest shipment of highly enriched, nonmilitary uranium ever exported from the United States.

But they didn't always keep an eye on it. Unattended for a period of time in an unlocked shed, the 1,770 pounds of uranium were vulnerable to seizure by skilled terrorists for possible use in several atomic bombs.

However, no potential terrorist was around to steal the weapons-grade material. So, on the following morning of Feb. 9, 1977, all 52 steel drums of the material were safely loaded and flown on a Lufthansa cargo jet to West Germany for use in a power plant.

But this security slipup was not the end of it. When the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) learned of the incident, the agency reprimanded the shipper, Transnuclear, Inc., of White Plains, New York, for "deficiencies" in allowing the private guards to interrupt surveillance of the dangerous substance.

And reprimanding was not all the NRC did. The agency immediately beefed up security requirements so that four guards instead of three now are required on all shipments of "special strategic nuclear material."

That could have been the end of it — but the federal government has been fervently trying to implement other safeguards on nuclear transport for the past two years — security steps which have not dissuaded dozens of local and state officials from regulating or restricting shipments of radioactive materials through their areas.

The NRC, however, is also trying to stop nuclear transport bills from passing in several state legislatures. In Illinois, Gerald Day, director of the state's commission on atomic energy, says "the NRC just doesn't have the people to enforce federal laws."

Still, from New York City to Rocky Flats, Colorado, officials

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**ket monitor guide**

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Munday, May 30, 1977

## Israel's defeated Labor Party still has political clout

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

If the new group, led by Yigal Yadin, joins the government, said a well-placed source, Likud's extreme approach would be somewhat blunted. But if the Democratic Movement for Change decides, like the Labor Party, to join the opposition, Mr. Begin's ultimate coalition would lack a moderating voice.

The anti-Likud strategy now emerging, said a source in close touch with the situation, is to stop the spread of nuclear explosives and to reduce sales of conventional arms.

This strategy calls for the still-powerful Labor Party, acting "constructive opposition" in the Knesset (Parliament), said a source involved in Middle East negotiations to present realistic alternatives to extreme positions staked out by a Likud-led Israeli Government.

A Likud proposal, for example, to annex the West Bank — or refuse to cede an inch of Arab territory seized in 1967 — would be countered by Labor Party readiness to give up some land in return for genuine peace with Israel's Arab neighbors.

Other factors lie behind the strategy:

\* Many Likud voters, it is thought, voted not so much for Mr. Begin's adamant foreign policy as against the scandal-ridden Labor Party, under whose tutelage Israeli inflation soared above 30 percent.

\* Many Oriental Jews — settlers from Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, and other Arab countries — may have voted for Likud in the hope of enlarging their role in Israel's political, social, and economic life, long dominated by European Jews.

Prince Fehd, during his talks with Mr. Carter, stressed the need for a Palestinian homeland, praised the President for recognizing this

## Middle East

fact, and warned of a "disastrous" war if peace efforts fail.

All sides recognize the fragility of the situation and the risks involved, particularly since Geneva peace talks — sought by Arab governments — are unlikely to be convened this year.

Much depends, officials say, on the ability of the United States, the Israeli Labor Party and its Knesset allies, and Arab kings and presidents to keep the situation stable until more moderate opinion in Israel has a chance to regain control.

### 'After permissiveness': Salkowski articles honored

Charlotte Salkowski, chief editorial writer of The Christian Science Monitor, has received a first place community service award in the 1977 Clarion Competition sponsored by Women in Communications, Inc. Miss Salkowski was cited for a Monitor series entitled "After Permissiveness What?" The eight articles, appearing in a supplement on May 24, 1976, explored the state of morality in American society.

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# Soviet Union

## Tensions stretch along Sino-Soviet border

By John Dillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Soviet efforts to improve relations with its populous neighbor, China, have failed miserably. And even greater animosity appears to be developing between the two communist giants, in the view of analysts here. Russian concerns about what they regard as the "yellow peril" again are being heightened.

Latest evidence of the failure of Soviet diplomacy in Peking was the recent article in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda, which charged that China was preparing for an even-

tual war against both the Soviet Union and the West.

The Pravda blast came at the conclusion of a series of abortive Soviet attempts to wipe away some of the bitterness of the Mao years, when Soviet-Chinese relations plummeted to new lows.

Behind these Soviet efforts for better relations, analysts say, were genuine fears that the Chinese pose a serious, long-term threat to Soviet territory.

Soviet strategists are concerned that in the near future the United States, Japan, or Western Europe will try to play off the Chinese against the Soviet Union by providing Peking

with industrial, technological, and military aid.

Aid of that kind, the Soviets believe, eventually could be used against Soviet forces in the vast, often frigid region that reaches 3,000 miles from Vladivostok in the east to Tadzhik S.S.R. in the west.

Powerful military forces are lined up on either side of that border.

In China, more than one million troops are deployed in "defensive" positions well back from the border where they would be in a better position to absorb a Soviet thrust. One report indicated Chinese forces consist of 75 regular divisions, 32 militia divisions, and 36 independent regiments.

The Soviets, with approximately 800,000 men, are very close to the border — a necessity in many instances because the Trans-Siberian Railroad lies close to Chinese territory.

Neither side currently has the manpower in place for a quick, successful strike at the other. But each continues to dig in, to improve its supply status, and, in the case of the Soviets, to improve its weaponry.

The newest Soviet propaganda attack is seen by some analysts as an effort to regain the upper hand in its relations with China. Several elements have been moving against the Soviets in recent months.

Prior to the passing of Communist Chinese Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Soviets had given up in their relations with the Chinese. The situation changed.

• Steering wheels often decorated with imitation leather covers, many with racing-type holes in them and metal snap-fasteners every inch.

• Windshield wiper arms with red plastic squares. Each arm has three disks, which serve no ascertainable purpose other than decoration. "Well, you see," began one Georgian driver when asked about them. Then he smiled and shrugged. "We just like to dress up our cars," he said.

• Long whip radio antennas, encased in red, yellow, green, or blue plastic, and bent back to a fastening behind rear windows.

• Special floor coverings of brown plastic that also encase floor-mounted gear levers right up to the handle. One car has a sleeve of white fur covering its wheel-mounted gear lever.

• Black racing stripes on car hoods.

• Wire spokes designed to ease parking by scraping against curbs before wheels hit them.

The customizing trend is far more noticeable in sunny southern Yerevan and Tbilisi than in more stately controlled Moscow. But designs of colored plastic string appear in rear windows even in Moscow, as do some other personal touches.

Car buying is still difficult here. Prospective owners may have to wait several years. Prices are very high — about \$10,000 for a small Zhiguli, for instance. (Salaries average about \$200 a month.) Difficulties continue in maintenance and repair. The black-market trade in spare parts is brisk.

Very often clear plastic encloses red, yellow, or green flower designs or butterfly wings. One handle in Yerevan (where the influence of the

## Ivan jazzes up his auto

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Verevan, U.S.S.R.  
As the white station wagon cruised the streets, soft music from a specially installed tape deck playing through four quadraphonic speakers enfolded the passengers.

Seat covers were a plush red, with inserts of dark-brown fur on seat backs and on the seats themselves. The wagon was spotless inside and out.

It might have been the corner of Hollywood and Vine in Los Angeles. . . . But it was Lenin Square in Yerevan, Soviet Armenia, across from the Ararat restaurant and hard by the Council of Ministers Building.

Unusual for the Soviet Union? Yes — but the quadraphonic speakers also indicate what seems to be a growing minitrend here: customizing cars.

It is the latest manifestation of the advancing auto age in the Soviet Union (1,239,000 passenger cars rolled from assembly lines last year). More and more cars are sporting touches of personal decoration — signs of individualism in this country of collectivism.

A week's travel in Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia turned up these examples on the streets of Yerevan, Tbilisi, and Leningrad:

• A nice line in decorated hubcaps.

• Decorated gear-lever handles. The standard-issue black plastic top is replaced with a variety of wooden or plastic models.

Very often clear plastic encloses red, yellow, or green flower designs or butterfly wings. One handle in Yerevan (where the influence of the



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## Young villagers grow bored in Soviet cities

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
The tide of young people rolls in from the countryside to the cities every Sunday afternoon, young girls mostly, ready for a week's work in factories and offices.

They sleep in dormitories and make reasonable wages. They see movies, read novels, watch television.

But on Friday afternoons, they take the bus home again to their villages to spend the weekend on the farm. They are trying to escape the boredom of the city — yet they are too bored with the countryside to live there all the time.

Soviet officials are looking for answers to their restlessness, their dissatisfaction.

The problem is by no means a small one.

Young people leaving the countryside — home, family, closeness to the land and to nature, accustomed personal relationships — have disappeared from their lives, but they have not found new spiritual values, the reporter wrote.

Demographer Perevedentsev recognizes the problem. As a rule, he says, young village people are more mature than their counterparts in the cities. They are more self-reliant, more stable.

But without a taste for the kind of pursuits cities can offer — classical music, painting, ballet — these young people tend to find city routine as uninteresting as the countryside they want to leave, he goes on. They are alone in a crowd. They go home at weekends for so little, but they keep going back during the week.

Millions of rural-to-urban residents are just like this, Mr. Perevedentsev writes, neither urban nor rural, but . . . marginal. Many of them will end up living in the cities. But how can they be helped to adapt to the city?

At present neither Mr. Perevedentsev nor other demographers appear to have answers, apart from proper recognition and study of the problem.

In the Ukraine, party and government au-

thorities have been building new halls and club-

rooms and improving other rural amenities to

try to keep people from migrating to the cities.

Some areas claim considerable success.

In Soviet Central Asia, birthrates are still



Moscow: restless youth in the big city

high (although they have been falling elsewhere). Migration to the cities is expected to increase sharply. Yet, in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other Central Asian regions, the differences between country and city are even more marked than in the European parts of the Soviet Union.

The question is whether the differences can be bridged quickly enough to prevent mass returns to the countryside (thus causing more labor shortages in cities) or before restlessness and dissatisfaction might lead to other social problems.

## Haste spoils oil

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science  
Monitor

Washington

The Soviets, world's largest oil producers, have rapidly increased output since World War II by using "forced draft" methods. But those methods, which include injection of massive amounts of water into oil bearing formations, have caused serious damage to some of their finest fields, according to new information released by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

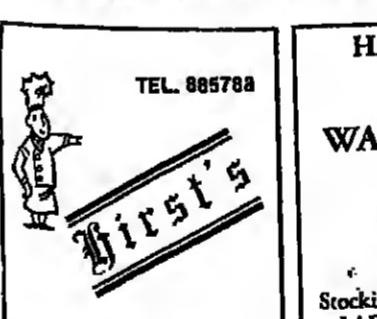
Soviet oil output, as a result, will drop suddenly and sharply within the next four years, the CIA predicts. The drop will send economic shock waves through both the Soviet and international oil markets.

Soviet oil problems were first brought to light by the CIA in a recent declassified report. In hearings before House subcommittee April 25, CIA director Stansfield Turner elaborated on some of the reasons behind those dire predictions:

1. Existing wells have been overproduced. Large amounts of water have been injected into the ground to increase pressure. The result was short-term growth in output. But in the long run, less oil will be recovered, and that falling-off now has begun.

2. Soviet oilmen have concentrated on drilling new wells into old fields, rather than searching for new fields.

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# Canada

## Canadian 'glue' bonds isolated provinces

By Charles L. Shaw  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Ever since the separatist Patrie Québécois won last November's election in Quebec, there have been discussions as to whether other parts of Canada might be tempted to follow a similar independent course.

In the past each of the other provinces has had and voiced its grievances about relations with the federal government in Ottawa, but they now are presenting a united front.

The maritime provinces — New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland — have at one time or another complained of relative isolation from the power base in Ottawa and of financial dominance by Toronto and Montreal.

The prairie provinces of Manitoba and Sas-

katchewan, which for years have been interested primarily in grain crops and other agriculture, allege the federal authorities have been unjust in their control of railroad freight rates.

Alberta disagrees with the federal government over oil and gas rights, and in British Columbia many people feel more affinity with the U.S. Pacific Coast than with eastern Canada.

But not one of these provinces has contemplated going it alone.

When put to the test, Canada's western provinces invariably have closed ranks and shaken off any notion that they could better themselves by breaking away from confederation.

In spite of the admonitions of a few somewhat obscure malcontents, a similar attitude seems evident today. Although the threatened breakup of Quebec has spawned a few orga-

nizations favoring independence, their membership is negligible.

On the rare occasions when candidates leaning toward a policy of independence have appeared, they have won meager support.

In a year when Canada's economy is in a sorry state, with unemployment widespread and inflation discouraging expansion and industrial progress, the discontent that prevails in many sections of Canada is easy to understand.

But none of the influential people in the country, including politicians and business and labor leaders, have come out in favor or breaking up the alliance that binds the provinces together — except in Quebec. And there the underlying motive has been that most people in that province speak a different language.

Especially in recent years the Canadian Government has made a notable effort to ap-

pease Quebec through a national bilingual policy. Although the majority of Canadians speak only English, they are confronted everywhere with signs in both English and French, and government publications are printed in both languages regardless of the additional cost.

According to those who are convinced that Canada's strength lies in unity, many obstacles would face an independent Quebec or a province that chose to follow it. They cite the confusion of separate postal and customs services, the loss of federal subsidies and the pension and insurance programs, the loss of identity in world affairs, restrictions in borrowing and other financial matters. . . . The list is seemingly endless.

And the supposed advantages appear to vanish when analyzed, they say.

## Korea's military power: a carefully balanced seesaw?

By John Dillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Korea's delicate military balance should remain roughly even between North and South following a U.S. troop pullout.

So say American analysts, who cite a number of factors like the difficult terrain which would make it difficult for communist North Korea to overrun the South in a surprise attack.

But confidence in South Korea's capability on the battlefield is tempered with respect for North Korea's military muscle, which has increased substantially in recent years.

Analysts cite a number of factors that must be considered carefully before a pullout, which is favored by President Carter:

• North Korea, armed with Soviet and Chinese weapons, has the ability to make a quick strike against the South with heavy firepower from tanks, rocket launchers, mortars, artillery, and aircraft.

Although North Korea has certain initial military advantages, such as a numerical superiority in tanks (1,850 to 840), and combat aircraft (550 to 330), the South Koreans hold what

appears to be an equally important advantage in terrain. As a study by the Congressional Budget Office noted:

"North Korean armored forces will be extremely useful in exploiting a breakthrough and rapidly overrunning South Korea. But they cannot be used as effectively to capture the hills and ridges which dominate the DMZ [demilitarized zone] approaches to South Korea."

It is along these hills and ridges that South Korean forces have dug in with fortified positions designed to resist artillery and air attack. Further, the South Korean positions are backed up with extensive and well-constructed tank barriers to thwart any breakthrough.

Even though the South Koreans appear outnumbered, therefore, analysts suggest that the South's natural defense advantages should neutralize the North's initial superiority.

### Psychological Impact

The psychological impact of a U.S. pullout is harder to gauge.

In the wake of American withdrawal from

Vietnam, some specialists worry that any sign of U.S. reduction in forces could tempt North Korea's ambitious leadership into another attack.

The presence of U.S. ground forces equipped with tactical nuclear weapons has inestimable deterrent value, specialists point out.

For this reason, some analysts suggest that a U.S. pullout must be accompanied by other measures to bolster the South's defenses.

Such measures might include upgrading the South Korean Army's anti-tank capability with modern missiles, or the strengthening of the South Korean Air Force with the latest F-4 and F-16 fighters. Another option might be reduction of U.S. forces in Korea to brigade strength, which would automatically involve American soldiers in any North Korean attack.

While some quarters argue strongly for maintaining current U.S. forces in Korea, sentiment for a pullout has been building in Washington. America's greatest military challenge at present appears to be in Europe, where Soviet strength has grown dramatically.

# Asia

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In many European countries workers have a say in industrial management. American unions have traditionally resisted this largely efficient partnership. As the industrial race tightens, unions may hold the key to future growth.

**By Harry B. Ellis**  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Stockholm  
In many countries of Europe, but distinctly not in the United States, workers are demanding, and getting, a larger voice in the decisionmaking process that makes their companies run.

In West Germany, where Mitbestimmung, or co-determination, has progressed furthest, workers make up today between one-third and one-half of the boards of directors of sizable firms. And the system is being extended to provide parity between workers and owners in director numbers, although not in power.

A new law in Sweden "tilts the balance to unions," says Karl Olof Faxon of the Swedish Employers Confederation, in bargaining over how jobs should be organized on the shop floor, when vacations should be taken, and other personnel decisions formerly reserved for management.

Sweden's hotly debated the controversial Meldnar Plan, named for its author, economist Rudolf Meldnar. The plan, if it becomes law, eventually would transfer ownership of much of Swedish industry to central trade union funds.

Workers in Austria, Holland, France, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, and other countries also share, in varying degree and form, responsibility for running corporate enterprises.

#### Results called exaggerated

Economically, some of these nations are more successful than others. So the question arises: To what extent does worker participation contribute to economic well-being?

"Take West Germany and the United States," replied Bill Robinson, a senior planning official at the European Community in Brussels. "Both have achieved about the same standard of living. Yet Germany has very active Mitbestimmung, the United States has none."

## Is the U.S. losing the industrial race?

Second of two articles

A cross section of industrialized economies suggests, to Mr. Robinson, that "worker participation can be exaggerated as a contributor to growth."

"Volkswagen," said Werner Menden of West Germany's Ministry for Research and Technology, "has Mitbestimmung. Is its performance different from Ford and General Motors [in Germany], which do not?"

(Under a new law Ford and GM plants in Germany are subject to parity Mitbestimmung, but were not at the time of Dr. Menden spoke.)

"I would say," he continued, "that the quick and easy way in which Ford and Opel [the name of GM in Germany] adjusted to changing market conditions was probably better than that of Volkswagen, whose decisionmaking process involved both management and unions."

Dr. Menden nonetheless finds advantages to Mitbestimmung. "During the recent recession," he said, "Volkswagen was forced to fire 30,000 workers. My guess is that this process was cumbersome and delayed, because of Mitbestimmung." But, he added, the system allowed "a broad-based, courageous decision," important to the company's future, to be taken with union participation.

Dietrich Kurth of Bonn's Economic Ministry agrees. "The advantages of social peace [through co-determination]," he says, "outweigh the disadvantages of the more complicated decisionmaking process."

#### AFL-CIO sees little promise

In the United States, the powerful AFL-CIO will have none of co-determination. "We've watched co-determination and its offshoot experiments with interest," says Thomas R. Donahue, executive assistant to AFL-CIO president George Meany, "and will continue to do so. But it is our judgment that it offers little to American unions. ... We do not seek to be a partner in management — to be, most likely, the junior partner in success and the senior partner in failure."

Mr. Donahue and other union officials speak of an "adversary relationship" between management and labor, which they do not want to see blurred, or "fuzzed over," by co-determination.

"This approach," says Douglas Fraser, head of the Chrysler unit of the United Automobile Workers (UAW),



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



## SPECIAL JUBILEE PULL-OUT SECTION

Monday, May 30, 1977

B1

## Worker participation

### United Kingdom

The Bullock Committee of Inquiry on Industrial Democracy recommended in its report Jan. 28 that British company law be changed to require 75 private companies with more than 2,000 employees to have workers on their boards. If a majority of all workers (union and nonunion) approve of worker participation, candidate worker directors would then be nominated and elected by the unions.

Worker directors would be equal in number to shareholder directors. The two groups would elect a third but smaller group of independent directors. The chairman of the board would come from the shareholder directors and hold a tie-breaking vote.

At present, employees have considerable voice in British corporations through workers' councils and their trade unions.

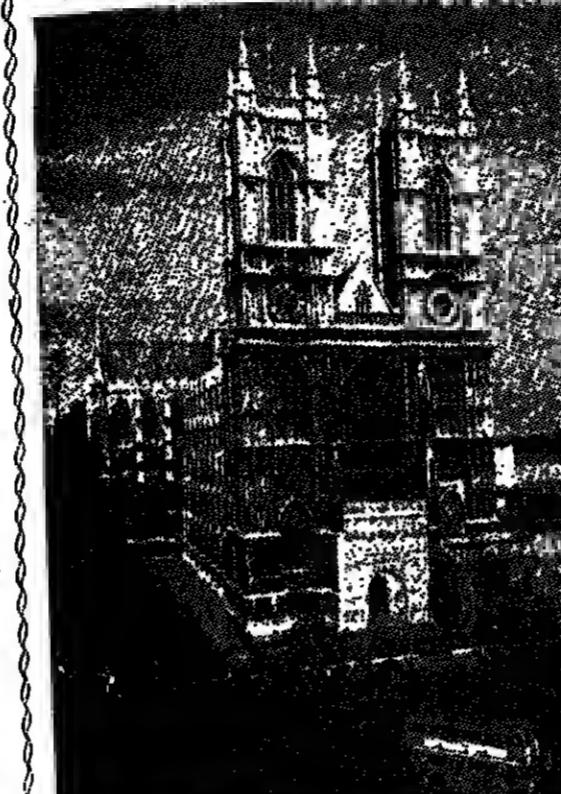
### Italy

Worker-director legislation does not exist and the unions are concerned that collective bargaining power might be compromised.

Worker councils do exist and are increasingly influential on companies' policies, particularly for public-sector companies. The Smith Barney study forecasts an increase in the unions' collective bargaining powers.

A draft bill is earning more than a percentage of the workers' share of company by 1980, so thought the study. Since 1971, over a workers council than 10,000, Barneby study, "has led to 10,000, thereby limiting

## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Westminster Abbey, in its 10th century



## Queen Elizabeth II: continuity amid change

**By Joseph C. Harsch**  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

the monarchy, how many visitors now in Britain would be spending their money elsewhere this summer?

In the schoolboy notebook of Queen Elizabeth's grandfather, King George V, was found a paraphrase from the writings of that eminent Victorian economist Walter Bagehot. "The existence of the crown," he wrote, "serves to disguise change and therefore to deprive it of the evil consequences of revolution."

If you go back and thumb through British newspapers and popular magazines of that time you will find a broad romantic indulgence in the idea that the new reign would usher in another era of greatness for Britain. People dreamed of a second "Glorious" who would once again lead them out of the doldrums into a new era of pride and power in the world as did the first Elizabeth.

Sadly for the people of Britain, yet a better thing for the Queen and for the institution she embodies, things have not worked out as expected when Elizabeth acceded to the throne on February 6, 1952.

The Queen's role would have been minor and might have become perfunctory and perhaps even perceivably redundant had those first 25 years been a free ride on an upward tide of British success. There has been no upward tide and no free ride. Elizabeth's important and demanding role has been to sustain the hope and the self-esteem of the British people through an appalling series of disappointments, mistakes, failures, and contradictions of power and influence.

Largely — and sometimes almost wholly — thanks to her end to her family, Britain is still today widely seen in terms of past glories and future possibilities rather than in terms of present economic difficulties. Travel posters which invite the world to Queen Elizabeth's silver jubilee festivities this summer are stressing not the achievements of British industry and commerce, but the color of the British monarchy. Without her and without

there is the occasional republican in British public life, mostly for ideological rather than practical reasons. But there is less republicanism in Britain today than there was in Queen Victoria's time, less probably than at any time since the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660. There is less because in Queen Elizabeth II the British people have had something they needed more than she needed them. They have done little for her. She has done a lot for them.

Her reign started out with one suspicious event. As the crowds waited in dampness outside Westminster Abbey on coronation morning the news came through that a British team had reached the summit of Mt. Everest, the first time ever that any human had climbed to the top of the world's highest mountain. But there have been few equally splendid reasons for British pride since that day.

The past 25 years in industry have seen the British make one splendid beginning after another, and never manage to carry it through to real success. At the time of the coronation, British industry produced most of the bicycles and motorcycles sold on the American market. The British sports car was the envy of the young generation everywhere. And the Comet airplane promised to seize the world lead in aviation.

But the bicycle market is gone. Japanese motorcycles have taken over the roads, even in Britain itself. The British sports car survives, but barely. Germans, Italians, French, and of course Japanese, have taken over much of the market.

Characteristic of what has happened to British industry is the current story of the STOL (short takeoff and landing plane). The British firm of Hawker Siddeley pioneered the STOL and its variation called the V-STOL.

\*Please turn to Page B8

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**Britain's sovereigns**

King Charles I	
Queen Mary I	
King George III	
King Charles II	
Queen Elizabeth I	
King Henry V	
Commonwealth Interregnum 1649-1659	
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector	
Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector	
Charles II	
Jemae II	
William III and Mary II	
Anne	
George I	
George II	
George III	
George IV	
William IV	
Victoria	
Edward VII	
George V	
Edward VIII	
George VI	
Elizabeth II	
Succeeded 1952	

**Line of descent of Queen Elizabeth II**

VICTORIA  
— Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha Prince Consort

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graph TD
    V[VICTORIA] --- ED[EDWARD VII]
    V --- AL[ALICE]
    ED --- A1[Albert of Denmark]
    AL --- A2[Alfred Duke of Edinburgh]
    AL --- H1[Helen]
    AL --- L1[Louise]
    AL --- A3[Arthur Duke of Connaught]
    AL --- L2[Louise]
    AL --- A4[Leopold Duke of Albany]
    AL --- B1[Bessie]

    A1 --- AV[Albert Victor Duke of Clarence]
    A1 --- GE[VICTORIANA]
    A2 --- G5[GEORGE V]
    A2 --- L3[Louise Princess Royal]
    A3 --- M1[Maud]
    A4 --- E8[EDWARD VIII]
    A4 --- G6[GEORGE VI]
    A4 --- M2[Mary Princess Royal]
    A4 --- H2[Henry Duke of Gloucester]
    A4 --- G7[George Duke of Kent]
    A4 --- J1[John]

    AV --- G1[GEORGE VI]
    G5 --- G1
    L3 --- G1
    M1 --- G1
    E8 --- G1
    G6 --- G1
    M2 --- G1
    H2 --- G1
    G7 --- G1
    J1 --- G1

    G1 --- W1[Wallis Simpson]
    G1 --- E1[Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon]
    G1 --- M3[Margaret]
    G1 --- A5[Anne]
    G1 --- A6[Andrew]
    G1 --- E2[Edward]
  
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EDWARD VII  
— Alexandra of Denmark

ALICE

Alfred Duke of Edinburgh  
and of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha

Helen

Louise

Arthur Duke of Connaught

Leopold Duke of Albany

Bessie

Albert Victor Duke of Clarence

GEORGE V  
— Mary of Teck

Louise Princess Royal

Victoria

Maud

EDWARD VIII  
— Wallis Simpson

GEORGE VI  
— Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon

Mary Princess Royal

Henry Duke of Gloucester

George Duke of Kent

John

ELIZABETH II  
— Prince Philip Duke of Edinburgh

Margaret

Charles Prince of Wales

Anne

Andrew

Edward

## Political change produces a need for basic reform

By John Allan May  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

During the past 25 years a great and basic change has come to British politics.

Probably no one is more keenly aware of this than Queen Elizabeth II herself. For the Queen is confidante of every prime minister, audience for every member of the Cabinet, and is privy to all major and most minor secrets, actions, and events. She is probably the best informed and by far the most thoughtful political personage in the kingdom.

In brief, this is the change:

- Whatever might be true of the past, no single party, even if it has a parliamentary majority, can any longer form a government that has the support of a majority of the electorate.

- Over the past 25 years each succeeding government, Conservative, and Labour, although it has claimed a "mandate" for its party policies, in fact has enforced them against the public will.

Photo by R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan

Itical wishes of a majority of the electorate. Clearly this could be dangerous for democracy.

Because of Great Britain's peculiar electoral system and its special history as a three- (or four-) nation political unit, this development has become increasingly strong, as well as increasingly obvious and significant.

Today it is quite possible to have a government that has electoral support of only 33 percent of the electors, which could mean (although it does not always do so) that its policies go against the grain of 66 percent of the people.

The recent Labour-Liberal pact may be seen as a tentative and temporary effort to overcome this now serious crack in the very fabric of the constitution.

Were an election to be held tomorrow, it is quite possible that the Conservatives would win by a landslide over Liberals and Labour; would achieve a majority in Parliament; and yet would be supported by fewer than 40 percent of the votes cast.

In such a situation the prospects for a government committed, perhaps, to right-wing, free-enterprise, monetarist policies are hazardous.

This is particularly so if one adds to the equation the undivided industrial power of the world's most experienced and possibly most influential trade union movement.

In such circumstances more and more observers believe that the case for electoral reform cannot long be denied.

But equally, more and more conclude that the case for devolution — that is, for a federal United Kingdom — becomes ever stronger.

There would then almost certainly be genuine majority governments in each of the constituent countries, with a majority provincial government in Northern Ireland.

But others note that whichever of these alternatives happens, one is still left with unresolved dilemmas:

- No single party could form a majority government in Britain as a whole.

- A minority party, with Liberals, might become a permanent party-in-power. For each major party would depend on Liberal support for its continuance in office.

- Power in Northern Ireland might be restored to the militant Protestant faction (because if the Scots, Welsh, and English have it, Ulstermen too could again claim the same right of local majority rule).

One does not know what the right answer is, or what the eventual answer will be. But one can be sustained at least by the knowledge that the United Kingdom boasts about the most experienced, the most sophisticated, and the most peaceful democratic system on earth.

And, as an experienced observer myself, I can tell you this: There is no senior British politician who will not value the advice and support of the sovereign on such difficult but vital matters as these.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

## More than pageantry — joyful thanksgiving

Britain's jubilee year is not being celebrated with pageantry only — nor was it meant to be. The many jubilee events scheduled throughout the United Kingdom include solemn occasions which will honor "ideals, love of country, unity, common purpose."

The word jubilee itself derives from the Hebrew "yobel" — ram's horn. In Biblical times, a trumpet made from a ram's horn was sounded to announce the jubilee year when debts were forgiven, slaves freed, and the lands lay fallow. It was a time when the people joyfully celebrated past achievements and solemnly dedicated themselves to the future.

In that spirit, thanksgiving services will be held throughout the United Kingdom, with the main jubilee service at St. Paul's Cathedral in London on June 7.

A full list of some 200 jubilee events, both solemn and light-hearted, is available in a free publication called "Welcome to Royal Britain." For copies, write to the nearest British Tourist Authority: 880 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019; Suite 2450, John Hancock Center, 875 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611; 1712 Commerce Street, Dallas, Texas 75201; 812 South Flower Street, Los Angeles, California 90017; or to the British Tourist Authority, 64 St. James' Street, London, SW1, England.



Photo by Mark Spain, photo staff

Parliament: harnessing tradition for the future

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Profit potential in technology still largely untapped

By David Fishlock  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

**London**  
The early 1950s were golden years for British science and invention. The technical triumphs of wartime had convinced many influential people that Britain's prosperity could be restored by setting up large scientific research centers and programs and by financing research generously.

Robert Watson-Watt, as superintendent of radio research at the National Physical Laboratory, was cited as an example. He had drawn upon a decade of purely scientific research - using radio waves to explore the ionosphere - in proposing a highly original and effective way of locating enemy aircraft - radar.

Proponents of more money for science also had in mind the way atomic research in the 1920s and 1930s of universities throughout Europe had succeeded in splitting the atom, culminating in the famous Frisch-Peierls memorandum to the British Government in 1940: "On the construction of a super-bomb based on a chain reaction in uranium." America's Manhattan Project drew on this memo, pooling the atomic talents of the allies.

British scientists responded enthusiastically to postwar popularity and patronage. From radar came not only an important branch of the electronics industry but also radio-astronomy (the mapping of radio sources in space) pioneered in Britain. In 1974 two of the pioneers of this exciting new science, Anthony Hewish and Sir Martin Ryle, won the first Nobel Prize for radio-astronomy.

Wartime research on the atomic bomb was largely responsible for the confidence that atomic physics had laid sound foundations for a new controlled source of energy, fission power. Britain had launched its own nuclear weapons program in 1946 with nuclear electricity as a secondary but nevertheless high priority. By 1952 Calder Hall, the world's first nuclear power station of commercial size (220 megawatts of electricity) was being built.

The Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment scientists, moreover, had begun to draw plans for a much more ambitious type of nuclear boiler, called the fast breeder reactor, which promised virtual independence from imported uranium to a nation unable to find indigenous uranium. In 1953 the search began for a site for the Dounreay fast reactor, an experimental power-producing reactor, which for 18 years served as a test bed for fast reactor technology. It was finally shut down in March, 1977.



The Harrier 'jump-jet' V-STOL needs no runway

May, 1952, saw the first scheduled flight of a revolutionary airliner called the Comet I, powered by turbojet engines. De Havilland, seeking to apply another seminal wartime invention to civil operations, had designed the aircraft to fly at heights unheard of for fare-paying passengers, around 30,000 feet - way above the weather - in order to use the turbojet engine economically.

The company's bold venture ended in tragedy caused by flaws in the detailed design of the pressurized cabin. But Comet I showed the way to a new generation of aircraft. Moreover, the crash research program to discover the fatal flaw was able to put the redesigned Comet 4 into service three weeks ahead of its first competitor, the Boeing 707. Sad to say, there can scarcely be a better example of the commercial advantage of being second into untested areas.

In April, 1952, the famous British wartime inventor, Barnes Wallis, outlined the shape of aircraft to come. In a lecture in London he put forward ideas for "flying bodies" - aircraft with wings only for take-off and landing, which folded back to form an almost wingless projectile at cruising speed. This was the springboard for the Wallis Swallow, the world's first variable-geometry aircraft.

Meanwhile another seminal advance in aviation was taking shape in the mind of A. A. Griffith, Rolls-Royce's chief scientist: an idea "more fantastic than any other inventor; more fantastic than the wildest artist, had imagined," as one of the best commentators on

comets swiftly adopted by the nearby research center of Tube Investments, one of Britain's biggest engineering groups; and by the instrument maker Cambridge Instruments. The outcome was the Stereoscan, a microscope with a field of focus 300 times greater than that of its predecessors.

So startling were its disclosures, the company had to take special pains to convince microscopists that its pictures were not faked.

Few could doubt that the intellectual elegance of pure science is as actively in Britain excels. Between 1901, when the first Nobel prizes were awarded, and coronation year, Britain carried off nearly a fifth of the science and medicine prizes - 60 fewer than 31 of the 171 awarded. In 1952 itself Archer Martin and Richard Synge shared the chemistry prize for their invention of chromatography, an ingenious new way of investigating giant molecules.

But for a nation poor in most natural resources, the way to prosperity lies through manufacture - adding maximum value to other people's resources. Few of the ideas invented turned into moneymakers for Britain.

All too often the challenge proved too much and Britain discovered too late that it could not supply the resources needed to capitalize on its discoveries. For one thing, the cash was simply not there. For another, the best minds seemed to prefer the challenge of scientific research to the challenge of manufacture and marketing.

In the 1970s Britain has tried hard to create a more balanced portfolio of science and invention. It knows it can afford very few billion-dollar projects - Concorde, commercial fast-breeder reactors, etc. It can afford very few of the "big machines" of today's science, such as \$200 million rigs for plasma physics or accelerators for atom-smashing.

What Britain desperately needs are major scientific successes on the scale of Godfrey Hounsfield's EMI scanner, the "smart" X-ray instrument which since 1972 has sold orders worth over \$250 million for EMI and - against all the odds - stayed ahead of some very powerful rivals in the United States and elsewhere.

David Fishlock is science editor of the Financial Times, London.

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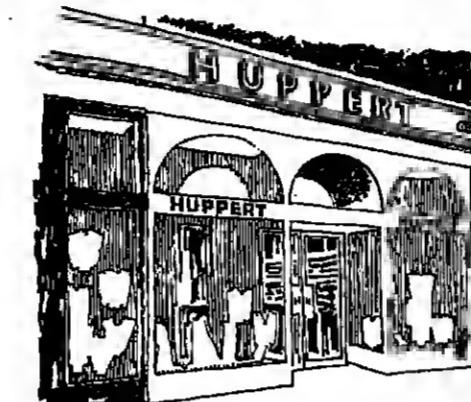
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Monday, May 30, 1977

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Commonwealth grows and evolves

### A binding facility: the English language

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**London** In the 25 years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the British Commonwealth of nations has evolved from a cosy club of mainly white countries into a multiracial 38-nation community comprising one-fourth of mankind.

One key to this successful evolution is that the Commonwealth's globe-spanning leaders enjoy "a special facility — the ability to talk to each other in a common language, English."

This is the view of Shridath S. Ramphal, the forceful, articulate Guyanese who has served as Commonwealth Secretary General for the past two years.

"The Commonwealth provides the only forum where leaders of rich nations and poor nations can talk to each other informally, in a nonconfrontational manner," Mr. Ramphal said in a recent interview. "They often disagree — sometimes sharply. But it's much better to disagree with each other in a language both can speak than to do it through interpreters. And there's a much better chance of coming to an agreement that way."

To Mr. Ramphal, the new Commonwealth plays "a much more exciting role" than the old one. It is in the forefront of the search for solutions to global problems — hunger, poverty, racial injustice. It is itself "a sample of the world community, of its differences and its problems, but with the facility and the habit of talking to each other, of communication."

Queen Elizabeth's changing role mirrors the change in the character of the Commonwealth. In her father George VI's day, the Commonwealth nations were united by allegiance to a single crown. In 1949, India decided to become a republic without leaving the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth prime ministers came up with a formula that enabled countries either to continue to have the British monarch as their head of state, or to have their own head of state. Since then the monarch has been a "symbol — but no more — of the free association of nations."

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1952, the Commonwealth had only eight full members — Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the three Asian members, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Not a single black African country was a member.

In 1957, Ghana joined, and "the Commonwealth has never stopped expanding since then," — the latest member being the tiny Sey-



Bandphoto

**Shridath S. Ramphal**  
Commonwealth Secretary-General

chelles in the Indian Ocean. Queen Elizabeth has played her symbolic role with enormous tact and hard work, building up a network of personal relationships with prime ministers and presidents both of old Commonwealth countries and of new, and winning "their immeasurable regard."

The Commonwealth has a population of 950 million, of whom 845 million are from developing countries. Of these, 780 million are counted among the world's absolute poor, living in lands where annual per capita income comes to less than \$200.

Besides the bilateral aid which Commonwealth countries give one another, Mr. Ramphal pointed out, there is the Commonwealth fund for technical cooperation. This fund began with a modest £500,000 (\$860,000) yearly budget but spent £7 million (\$12 million) last year and hopes to increase the sum to £11 million (\$18.8 million) in 1978.

Mr. Ramphal, personifies the diversity of today's Commonwealth. Of Indian background, he was born in Guyana, a country which itself is composed of two major communities, the African and the East Indian. Though English-speaking, Guyana is surrounded by Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

Married to an Englishwoman, and educated himself in Britain, Mr. Ramphal served as his country's foreign and justice minister before succeeding Arnold Smith, a Canadian, as Commonwealth Secretary General in 1975.

Over and over, Mr. Ramphal stresses the importance of "the habit of working together." Commonwealth prime ministers convene their

conferences once in two years, but many of their ministers meet more frequently. The Commonwealth finance ministers' get-together is an annual event, always held just before the meetings of the governors of the World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund.

Commonwealth education ministers have just met in Accra, Ghana. Commonwealth law ministers meet regularly also, sharing a common background in British-based law.

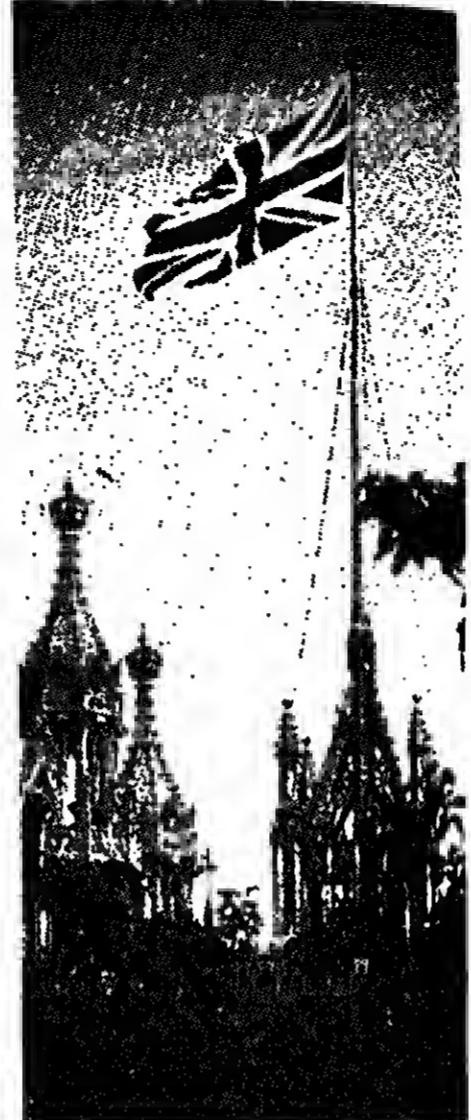
On one aspect of the law, Mr. Ramphal said, many Commonwealth countries have a closer link with the United States than with Britain.

"In every Commonwealth country with constitutions including guarantees of human rights and the rule of law, the courts will look first to decisions of the United States Supreme Court. The whole concept of judicial review in the modern Commonwealth derives more from American than from British jurisprudence."

This is because Britain, with an unwritten constitution, still operates on the theory of the supremacy of Parliament, whereas in the United States there is a clear separation of powers and a supreme court to interpret a written constitution.

Currently, Mr. Ramphal said, the Commonwealth faces one of its greatest challenges in southern Africa. The Commonwealth secretariat has "never been far from any initiative" taken to help solve the problems caused by Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 and by South Africa's apartheid policies and retention of Namibia (South-West Africa). At last year's Geneva conference between Rhodesia's Ian Smith regime and black nationalist leaders, the Commonwealth secretariat provided 25 experts to assist the nationalist delegations.

"I'd like to think we're approaching the final stage" of efforts to obtain black majority rule in Rhodesia, Mr. Ramphal said. "By the time Commonwealth prime ministers convene here in June, we may see the way ahead more clearly."



By R. Norman Methany, staff photographer

**Pivot of the Commonwealth**  
The Union Jack over Parliament

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

## When Boston welcomed the Queen

By Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

"I think she's coming! Up there on the balcony," squealed a tattered schoolgirl.

"Yes. But the crown? Is she wearing the crown?" responded her somewhat shorter companion standing on tiptoe.

Queen Elizabeth II with Prince Philip at her side paused, smiled, and waved to the blues and commoners alike who issued a cheer which must have rivaled the applause when the Declaration of Independence was first read to 1776 from the same balcony of the Old State House — the original seat of British government in the colonies.

The United States will never forget the royal couple's six-day bicentennial visit to the U.S. last July, with all the pomp and pageantry, 21-gun salutes, and brass band fanfares of "Rule Britannia." And perhaps the most memorable day was the Queen's farewell to the U.S. in Boston.

For the first time in the nation's history, a reigning British monarch had dared set foot in the "Cradle of Liberty" — a town that has always been proud of its troublemaking for the crown long before those farmers from Concord fired "The shot heard 'round the world."

Baffling the irony of a monarch crossing the ocean to pay homage to an act of revolt, the Queen was given a set of 36 sterling silver teaspoons by America's oldest chartered military company in the same city which two centuries ago threw a less-than-proper Boston Tea Party for her great-great-great-great grandfather King George III.

The Queen's visit here is one that Americans seemed to have fondly remembered among all the fireworks and Fourth of July speeches that made up the nation's birthday party last summer. Now Americans are bidding their best wishes across the Atlantic to the island people for another birthday celebration — the 25th jubilee anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's reign. As one Bostonian put it recently: "She came to help us celebrate the bicentennial. Now it's our turn to return the favor."



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

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## The City, lynchpin of the British economy

By John Allan Moy  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
In one sense the City of London has grown in importance since the accession of Queen Elizabeth II 25 years ago.

To the British, of course, "the City" does not mean London as a whole. The words have both a singular and a dual meaning.

Geographically they refer only and specially to the inner 677 acres of London - usually called "the square mile" - the historic core of the capital, the City within the city, the area once surrounded by a Roman wall and spoken of then with respect as a "town of the highest repute" by the historian Tacitus.

Genocically, the words refer here not to the general concept of urban society everywhere but specifically to the concept of finance - banking, brokerage, discounts, insurance, stocks and bonds and general financial know-how - of which the inner square mile of London remains the source, the center, and the symbol.

And if the City has grown in importance in the past 25 years it is because finance has grown so in importance and widened so in scope.

The number of foreign banks in the City has increased tenfold. Pension funds, previously the smallest of the institutions, today are almost the biggest. Lloyds of London deals in billions for insurance rather than millions. And if there are gamblers on the stock market by far the largest is the government broker, who does most of the business.

But beyond this, it may even be said with some justice that the City has rescued Britain from otherwise inevitable bankruptcy.

It represents the one sector of the British economy that has never been in deficit. These days, together with tourism, the City's international payments surplus totals some £1,500

million sterling annually (more than \$2.6 billion).

In 1978 Britain probably will have an overall surplus once again. It is estimated to reach just about that amount - £1,500 million sterling. Thus, it could be said that the rest of the economy will at last be breaking even, with the City and with oil providing the profit. In the 1980s oil will take over as the main source of profit, but the contribution of the City will remain absolutely irreplaceable.

It is ironic, perhaps, that at this very moment the essentially capitalist City of London is under threat of a take-over by the usually socialist Greater London Council (GLC). The City's major institutions such as its banks and insurance companies are under the shadow of the new nationalization policies being prepared for the next socialist administration as and when the Labour Party is voted back to power once more.

The trouble is, one supposes, that to many people these days the City just does not make sense any more.

It has been self-governing for 2,000 years. Special rights and privileges were confirmed in the famous Magna Carta forced from King John, on which the freedoms of the British people still are based. Within its boundaries its lord mayor takes precedence over all but the sovereign herself.

Yet it has become in a way a Cinderella city, where midnight chimes at 5 o'clock.

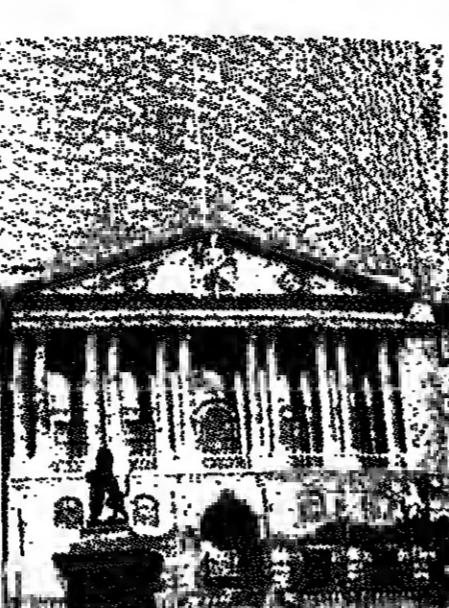
The lord mayor may have a gilded coach, and his officers may include his Sword-bearer, his Common-cryer, and his Remembrancer. But every evening when the clock strikes the hour, out of the total population of 400,000, some 300,000 snatch up their things and flee to their homes in the country as fast as their trains will carry them.

To many a tidy-minded administrator the City's independence as an authority with its own police force, schools, housing program,

Monday, May 30, 1977

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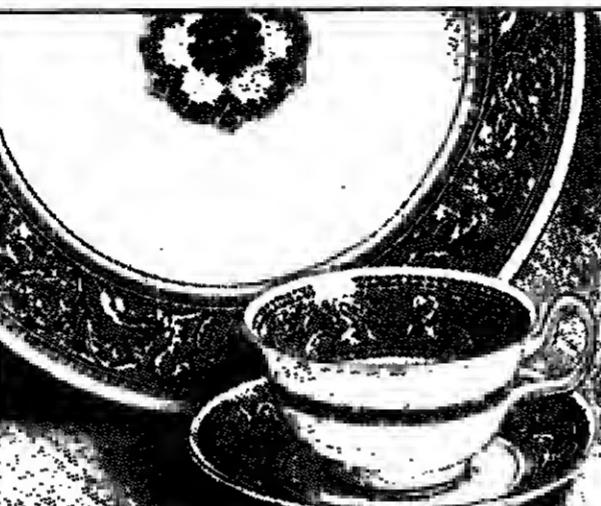
By Berth J. Feikenberg, staff photographer

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## ★The Queen - continuity amid change

Continued from Page B1

And perhaps the turn of the economic tide lies just ahead. North Sea oil is already on the British market. The government expects to have a net profit on its balance of trade next year. But, meanwhile, one of NATO's great worries is the fact that much of the British Army on the Rhine is actually over in Ulster trying with less than total success to reconcile Roman Catholic Britons with Protestant Britons. Those troops ought to be in West Germany alongside the forces of their NATO allies.

The U.S. Navy today buys V-STOLs from Hawker Siddeley in Britain. But it will shortly be getting them from American firms which have bought the rights to the Harrier, the current version favored in the U.S. Navy. Similarly, Rolls-Royce engines are being made in American factories. The Concorde supersonic airliner is a technical success, but an economic disaster. British industry can pioneer, but it has lost out over and over again in production.

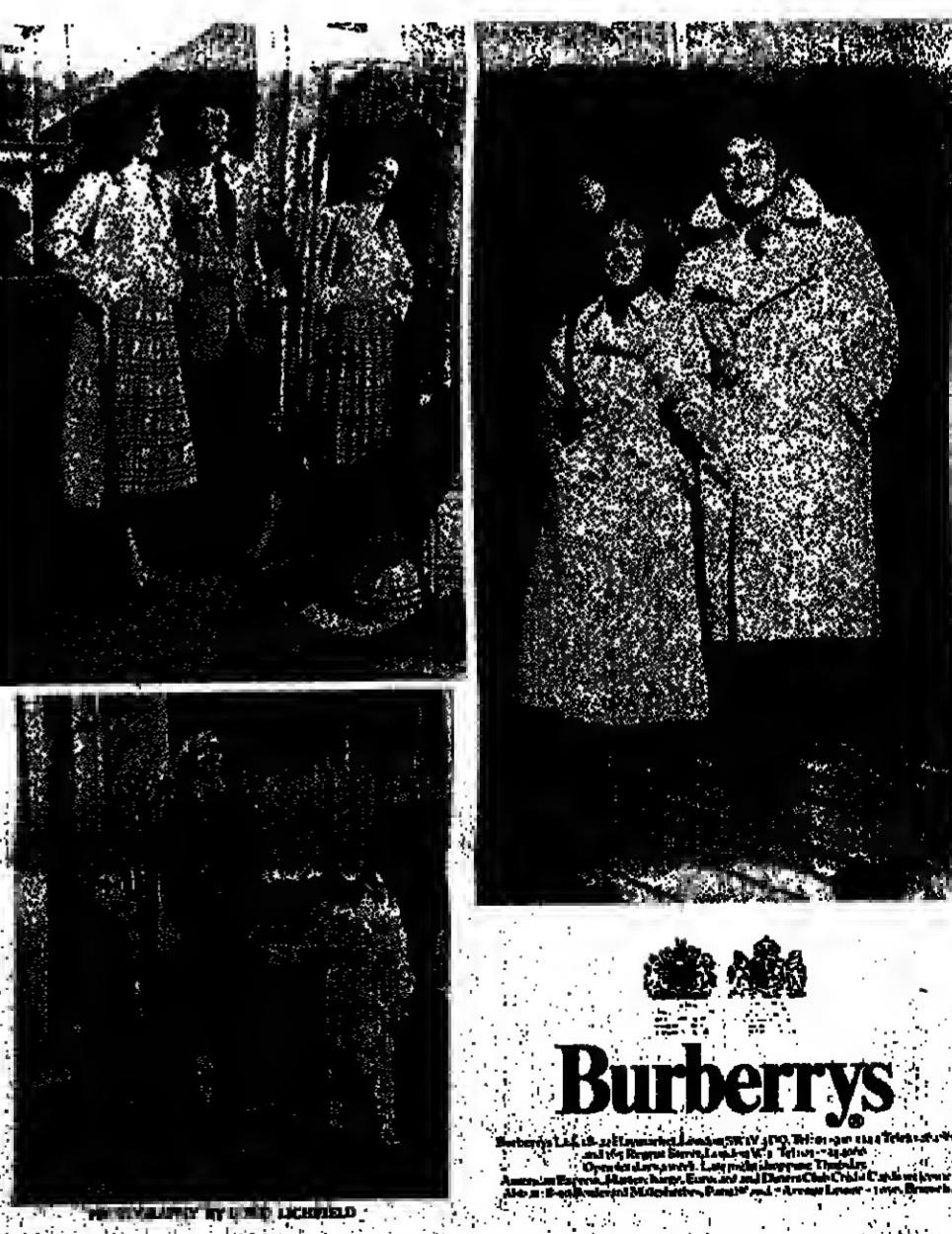
Add to industrial disappointment the contraction of empire. For much of Queen Elizabeth's reign she and other members of her family have been kept busy attending ceremonies all over the world at which the Union Jack is hauled down for the last time.

The British Empire has been liquidated peacefully. It is probably the most peaceful end to empire in history, certainly on such a grand scale. But it is the end of empire; Queen Elizabeth today is only a Queen, not an Empress.

There have been "bright interludes" throughout the story of contraction and disappointment. London still "swings." Britain is still the source of the best of men's fashions and the finest of woolens. Its craftsmen still make clothes and shoes for the sheiks of Arab as well as for the more discriminating of Texas millionaires. The theater, ballet, opera, music have flourished in "a second restoration" of the arts in Britain.

The writer of this article is a graduate of Cambridge University, was NBC's London correspondent during the middle years of the Queen's reign, and was awarded a C.B.E. (Hon.) by the Queen for his work in helping to sustain good relations between Britain and the United States.

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The future Queen, with Princess Margaret, the Queen Mother, and King George VI

By Cecil Beaton



By Barth J. Feldenberg, staff photographer  
Princess Anne, Olympic competitor



British Information Services  
Prince Andrew and Prince Charles, in command

# Real Family Unity in diversity

By John Allan May  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

**London** One Imperialist may say that the British royal family is that it is so obviously fashioned and yet modern.

It achieves unity out of an equally remarkable diversity that holds it together being as strong a family affection as of family duty. And both are extremely strong indeed.

Yet this is no fact. It is - if you like - a quiet, cozy, and respectful kin. It is - if you like - to be forgiven - a family of toughies.

It has its relatives, its sportsmen and sportswomen, its nobles, its light-hearted, its quiet ones. And through all of them there is a streak of stubbornness like Sheffield steel.

Princess Anne, the Queen's second child, when in her teens, formed the amateur equestrian team in 1976, despite the fact that Prince Philip, was team reserve.

Anne had actually been voted European champion in 1971 and had been voted "Sport Personality of the Year." Only the next year did she make the grade at these levels of competition.

#### Determined (12)

But what, for me, is the story of Anne's achievement of amateur status? It is the tale of her youngest brother, Prince Edward, then 12 years old. When he discovered that he was the only member of the family who was not involved for the Olympics, he took fair from his mother.

Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, the one a firm mother and the other a fatherless father, had decided that Edward must be sent out the end of his school term.

Of course it did not go well. The lesser story of his rebellion was, however, that he responded to his eldest brother, Charles, in a most unusual manner. What is certain is that he did turn up at the Olympics, traveling with Prince Charles.

And it would not be surprising if it was Charles who succeeded in taking him around to alter their original decision. Charles' developed qualities that make him a formidable competitor.

#### Training to be King

He is a very good competitor, unlike his elder Prince of Wales who, in his youth, was a naval officer, unlike an earl. He saw for himself the desolation of war in the Pacific during World War II. He was in the Royal Navy in the 1930s and has got to be done.

This does not mean that he is training to be king, and he knows that he has not been trained by a truly remarkable man, the Queen Mother, who is above all else, a woman who loves her country, to speak, the seal of state, giving the government elected by the people, advice, knowing all secret

and supporting, sometimes, her government, sustaining al-

ways the choice of the electorate while that choice remains valid.

Prince Charles, despite his awareness of his position, is an easy man to get along with. He is perhaps the "easiest" of the whole family (except, I am told by those who know, Queen Elizabeth herself and of course his grandmother, Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother).

#### Philip surely the father

Paterfamilias Prince Philip is less easy, at least in public. He has a neat sense of humor, but a somewhat caustic tongue, and every now and again he can be counted on to drop a political brick. He has, however, done an extremely difficult job well.

In public he walks a pace behind the Queen. In private she ensures that he is father of the family. Himself a serving naval officer during World War II and a licensed pilot, he has insisted on much the same schooling for Charles, who commanded the mine-hunter HMS Bronington for a year and is a skilled pilot and parachutist.

Keenly interested in the preservation of wildlife, Prince Philip is a truly excellent wildlife photographer. He is also a very good amateur painter.

Not very much is known yet of Prince Andrew, the middle son. At 17 he is just now being groomed for future royal duties. Tall, handsome, and extroverted, Andrew clearly has a lot going for him. He is the family's glider pilot.

His closest friends, it is said, include his cousins Lady Sarah Armstrong-Jones and James Ogilvy, son of the delightful Princess Alexandra.

#### Duchess a favorite

Another family favorite, particularly with the public, is the Duchess of Kent. Formerly Katherine Worley, from Yorkshire, she is a descendant of Oliver Cromwell (Britain's only civilian dictator), who challenged the rule of kings "by divine right" and overthrew Charles I).

The marriage of the Queen's sister, Princess Margaret, to Lord Snowdon (Tony Armstrong-Jones) has founders, but despite this and the fact that Margaret leads her own life in her own way with her own friends, she is also - and very definitely - one of the family still.

The Queen sees to this. She influences all around her by her determined sense of family and of family duty. However, this should not lead anyone to imagine the Queen is a dour, exacting lady. She is, I am sure, the very opposite.

She is in her heart an outdoor person. She loves animals, particularly her dogs and her horses, and likes to roam the moors. She laughs easily. And she married the man she fell in love with, hook, line, and sinker, when she was 14 and he was a naval sublieutenant. Their family is her joy.

The Queen was schooled herself, of course, by the Queen Mother, a woman who combines a markedly regal presence with a reassuring charm. This year while the Queen has been away, the Queen Mother has acted as senior counselor of state, holding councils and investitures and doing a mighty lot of paper work. She has unflagging energy and boundless courtesy and her genuine interest in other people makes the whole land love her.

Everybody calls her affectionately "the Queen Mum." And that simple phrase really says it all.



British Information Services  
Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip at Windsor Castle



British Information Services  
Princess Elizabeth during World War II



Monday, May 30, 1977

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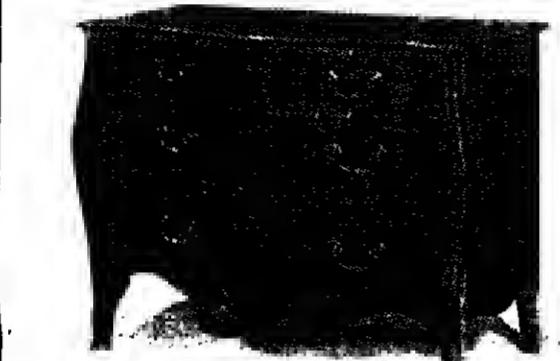
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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

## Ruling the waves no longer — but certainly the boards

By Harold Hobson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

But it is impressive that British theater should have reached, in the present reign, one of the highest peaks in the long history of the drama.

What has happened is that the class basis of British drama has been eroded. The play that launched it on its present course was, as everyone knows, John Osborne's "Look Back in Anger" in 1958.

Osborne himself is not a revolutionary. He has an admiration and a sort of wounded, protesting affection for what used to be called by Englishmen "the glories of our blood and state." This admiration, he knows, cannot make these glories endure. In some moods, Osborne thinks that not only is their destruction inevitable, but also just. And yet he bitterly regrets this destruction, which has taken with it many things that he loves as well as some that he hates.

Dean Acton, in a famous phrase, said that Britain had "lost an empire, and has not yet found a role." But in one activity at least, Britain has not only found a role, but several roles. He expressed this ambivalence of feeling in "West of Suez" (1971), in which Sir Ralph Richardson gave one of his most memorable performances. The last words of that play — an indignant exclamation, "They have shot the fox" — have a peculiar resonance for traditional Englishmen, who have killed foxes for centuries in the hunting field, but consider the shooting of a fox an unforgivable crime.

That the Empire had to go, Osborne has never disputed; but his anguish at the manner of its going, and at what has taken its place, is what gives such power to plays like "West of Suez," "The Entertainer," and "A Sense of Detachment."

The cardinal importance of "Look Back in Anger" lay not only in its inherent value, but in the fact that at the time it was misunderstood. Out of this misunderstanding was born a whole brood of dramatists. In 1968, this play was taken to be an outright attack upon the British class system, and this attack was taken up with enthusiasm by writers till then unknown, but now world-famous. Arnold Wesker, David

Storey, and E. A. Whitehead wrote plays of deep feeling concerning the defects of British society. They were presented by the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre, where "Look Back in Anger" was first presented. Distrust of the establishment order became the keynote of the revival of British theater.

It was in keeping with the temper of this drama that fringe theaters sprang up all over central London, in garrets, basements, and the backrooms of taverns — the British versions of Off-Broadway and Off-Off Broadway. The King's Head, the Almost Free, the Bush, the Solo-Poly, and others staged the works of young unknowns.

They brought in a new kind of audience; younger, more dissatisfied than the old, more

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977



'Julius Caesar' at the National Theatre

protesting. Evening dress disappeared from the stalls. Meanwhile, Harold Pinter pursued an independent course, divorced from politics, but equally opposed to the old kind of drama, and equally (indeed, perhaps even more) important.

There have been two other developments of great importance. One was the extension of the work of the Royal Shakespeare Company from Stratford to London. This has had a new and fresh approach to Shakespeare.

The other major development is the opening of the National Theatre. It is a magnificent addition, not only to the dramatic art of London but to its architecture. Now directed by Peter Hall, in the exciting first years of its existence it was housed in the Old Vic and launched into greatness by Sir Laurence Olivier.



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## Oxford University: where time-honored traditions linger

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

When the Queen visited Oxford University last year, her visit was called the most memorable event of 1976. And that judgment came from a university not easily impressed by world figures — having watched them pass for some eight centuries.

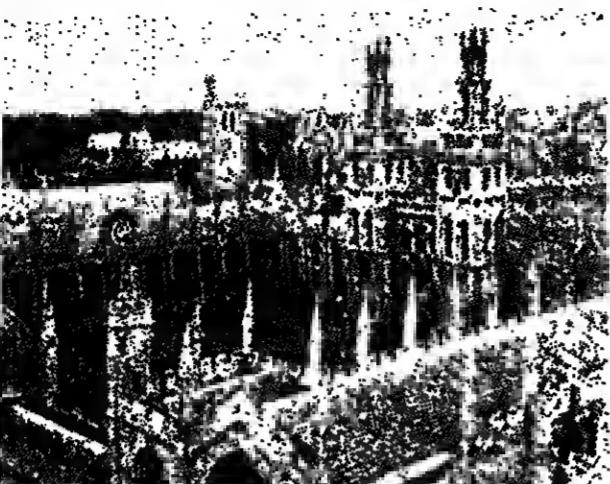
Visits by kings and queens have not always taken place under such pleasant and peaceful conditions. During the 17th century civil war, King Charles I sheltered at Oxford. He was joined there by his wife, Henrietta Maria, back from the continent where she obtained arms and ammunition for the royal cause.

Even then the university welcomed the royal couple in a typically Oxford fashion. True to a tradition that persists to this day, King Charles and his Queen had to stay in separate colleges — although a doorway was cut in the dividing wall.

Even a king could not bend the university's rules. Tradition has it that when King Charles sent a servant to the Bodleian Library to borrow a book, the king's request was turned down by the librarian. The King, after all, was not a registered member of the library.

But if such incidents have a familiar ring to today's Oxford students, and if change at Oxford seems to creep along at a snail's pace, the university cannot be all that out of touch with the times. Recent studies show graduates from Oxford and its cousin university, Cambridge (distant cousins in the eyes of the rival students), still fill about 80 percent of the top government posts.

Oxford was isolated from the student tumult that rocked most Western universities in the '60s and early '70s, and there seems little change in sight. Three years ago an attempt to



All Souls' College, Oxford

### University traditions rise to meet new demands

raise a banner of protest against the lack of a student union led to a number of demonstrations and arrests. But student protest has died out now in the same air of apathy in which it surfaced.

Part of the current quietude at Oxford may stem from the shadows cast over all British universities by the nation's economic crisis. Universities which saw unparalleled growth in the 1960s now have less state aid for their students, and they must struggle to meet spiraling costs.

Oxford and other universities face further uncertainties as approaching decline in the numbers of college-age students. Currently, there are 830,000 18-year-olds in the United Kingdom. This group will peak in five years at 927,000, only to plummet to 830,000 in 1989, and further to 600,000 in 1995. What the trend will mean for a university like Oxford is not clear.

In addition, Oxford continues its trend away from a strictly religious heritage from which it emerged in the Middle Ages. While the university already had broken with clericalism in the 18th century to gear itself for the emerging Industrial and Imperial state, its religious underpinnings may be shaken still further as a number of Anglican training colleges some of them closely linked with the university colleges, move close. A recent Church of England commission recommends closing some 8 Anglican colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, which had been the two major centers of training for the Anglican ministry.

If changes now seem inevitable for the university, they may only be a passing fad. As A. H. Halsey of Newall College recently said of Oxford in a Times supplement article: "The place engulfs you — it wraps itself around you rhetorically and architecturally. It resists change, but it also disengages change in continuity."

Yet the severe economic problems facing Britain since 1976 may be needed in its educational approaches as Queen Elizabeth has succeeded in bolstering national pride in the face of discouraging post-war developments, perhaps to the extent that a university like Oxford can take initiatives for a future in the potential of a talented people can be practically realized.

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Monday, May 30, 1977

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Australia's ties to Britain's royalty run deep despite nationalism

By Tom Millar  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Ninety years ago there was a flourishing republican movement in New South Wales, directed against rule from 10,000 miles away, against the hereditary principle, a stratified society, and an imported honors system under which the Queen confers titles.

It was very much a minority movement, and it dwindled to almost nothing as the six colonies formed the independent Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.

Under the new nation's Constitution, the federal Parliament was deemed to consist of the Queen (then Queen Victoria), a Senate, and a House of Representatives, the Queen being represented by a governor-general.

Today, the Constitution remains almost unaltered, and the British monarchy is the main formal link between Australia and the United Kingdom. Australia is celebrating, in this jubilee year, 25 years of the reign not of the Queen of England but of the Queen of Australia.

Today, again, there is a flourishing republican movement, directed not so much at rule from London as at the concept of an external head of state. It is also a minority movement, generating more noise than support, but its basis is more substantial and thus more permanent.

It was boosted by the events of late 1975, when the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam. The curious thing is that Mr. Whitlam sought to appeal to the Queen in London over the head of Sir John, who was Mr. Whitlam's own nominee.

He was unsuccessful because he was no longer prime minister.

The Whitlam government had abolished, at the federal level, resort to the British honors system, including degrees of knighthood, and introduced in its place the Order of Australia. This was still formally derived from the Crown as the fount of honor, but was without knighthood and was indigenous by definition.

The Liberal Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, reverted to the British system, retained the Australian order in parallel but instituted within it a senior knighthood for outstanding services to the nation. Sir Robert Menzies was the first recipient.

This would seem to run against the tide, slow though it usually is, of Australian nationalism. At a referendum to be held shortly, a national anthem is to be chosen, and will almost certainly not be "God Save the Queen," the British anthem that has served Australia for so long but is now too identifiably British and insufficiently Australian.

With the proportion of the Australian population of British stock dipping toward 80 percent, one might have expected a tepid welcome to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh during their visit here last month.

Not so. There were a few, small counterdemonstrations, but the people turned out in their hundreds of thousands to wel-

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come and cheer the royal couple. There is obviously much genuine affection for the monarch — probably more than for the British connection which she symbolizes.

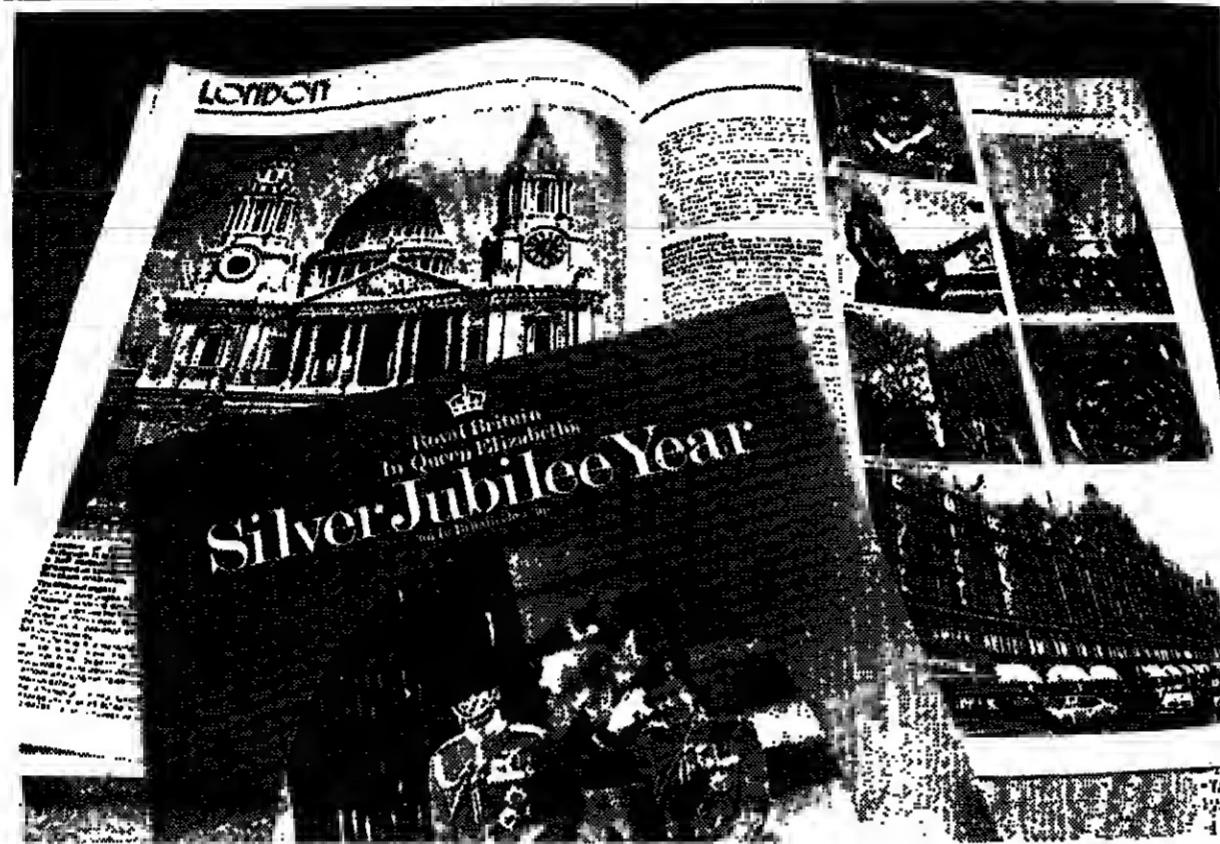
Sir John Kerr is the third successive Australian-born Governor-General, and with the possible exception of Prince Charles, no Briton is ever again likely to be appointed to the post. State governors also now tend to be Australian-born, one (Sir Douglas Nicholls) being an aborigine.

In a recent, highly unusual situation, the British Government disagreed over the resappointment of the governor of Queensland, who then withdrew. Constitutionalists have asked whether this offers a precedent for the British Government to

recommend disallowance of state legislation, as is technically feasible.

Such a possibility, extremely unlikely though it is, denies the need for some constitutional changes — in this case probably more easily achieved in London than in Canberra. Those Australians who would like to exclude the Queen from the Australian governmental process may not realize the formidable difficulties facing even modest amendments to the own Constitution.

The jubilee year has demonstrated that an Australian republic is still a long way off. Australia's prosaic, egalitarian, as informal people welcome the romance and dignity of royal



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**BRITAIN**

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

## Royalty visits Canada

By Don Sellar  
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

To many Canadians, a fleeting glimpse of Queen Elizabeth II passing along a crowded parade route to her limousine is worth hours of waiting, even in the rain.

Some Queen-watchers proudly say they stood five or six hours on a chilly day, in the hope that as the Queen appeared in front of them, she would smile for a snapshot or wave.

It does not matter that the event is televised. They show up,

even with babies in their arms, to see if the Queen is anything like her pictures.

Last summer in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, two children waiting in the crowd for the Queen waved two faded Union Jacks distractingly while their grandmother stood behind them, eyes glistening.

"Those flags went to the royal visit in 1939," she said. That was when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, were on the throne.

Yes, the monarchy is still alive in much of Canada after 25 years of Queen Elizabeth II's reign. In the Maritimes, Ontario, and the west, there seems to be genuine enthusiasm for the Queen whenever she visits the nation.

In Quebec, the home of Canada's French-speaking minority,

the mood seems to be one of indifference, rather than the hostility that bubbled up during one of her visits to the province during the mid-1960s.

These days, however, the Canadian Government is being very careful about how much exposure she is given and what she says during her visits as Queen of Canada.

In this, her silver jubilee year, the Queen will spend only four full days in Canada, Oct. 20-23, and her entire schedule will be played out in Ottawa-Hull, the national capital region.

The government denies it, but sources who traveled on the royal tour of the Maritimes and the Montreal Olympics last summer maintain the Queen wanted to make a more elaborate visit to mark the jubilee.

There was talk of a two-week, cross-Canada trip that now has been curtailed, primarily for economic reasons. During her 15-day trip last year, the Queen ran up a bill of \$500,000, not counting a large security bill, which remains a secret.

In addition, each of the four provinces she visited picked up tabs that probably doubled that figure — all at a time of spending restraint.

The cost of entertaining the Queen is not so big an issue, perhaps, as the problem of defining a useful role for her to play in a modern constitutional monarchy.

In recent years, every word spoken by Queen Elizabeth II has been cleared in advance with the provincial and federal governments concerned. Controversy, it has been decided, is to be avoided at all costs.

As a result, the Queen says nothing that is provocative, and puts little of her own personality into her speeches. She is known to be a woman of strong views, but is allowed to utter them only at cocktail parties or other private functions.

Those who traveled with her last year were often struck by the contrast between her just-completed visit to the United States and the Canadian one.

Not surprisingly, her visit to the U.S. was filled with historic significance that echoed back to the American Revolution. But in Canada, which admittedly was not celebrating a bicentennial year, the Queen almost seemed to avoid historical references.

For example, in the Maritimes she had an opportunity to reflect upon the history of the French-speaking Acadian minority, but did not. Instead, provincial politicians took her to visit new hospitals and senior citizens' homes, where she shook hands with grateful people but had little to say to them.

Quite often during the Watergate scandals, Canadian politicians were quick to praise the value of the monarchy. They noted the value of aspiring the head of state and head of government, not combining them in the awesome figure of a U.S. president.

Yet today, the federal government's apparent difficulty in giving Queen Elizabeth or her representative, Governor-General Julie Léger, a more significant role must make it harder for the monarchy to smile in all those parades.

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Coronation, June 2, 1953

## The British — and religious experience

By Francis Reddy  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nottingham

Head of church as well as head of state, the Queen presides over a realm in which between one-third and one-half of the adult population of Britain claim to have had some form of direct religious experience. They simply know there's a God, or something like one.

This startling discovery, which could have far-reaching implications for the future of religion and the churches, has emerged from research being done at Nottingham University. Lecturers David Hay and Ann Morley, of the Department of Education, working in association with the Religious Experience Research Unit in Oxford, have reported some preliminary findings.

Besides drawing on work done in the United States, they have used surveys conducted nationally in Britain, locally in Nottingham, and intensively among a few selected cases and their students.

An important starting point is the definition of what a religious experience is. David Hay and Ann Morley have the key question: Have you ever been aware of or influenced by a presence or power, whether you call it God or not, which is different from your everyday self? The nationwide survey of Britain found 38 percent saying "yes"; but a random survey in Nottingham produced more than 80 percent positive response. Some American surveys reported over 70 percent.

Looking at American figures, David Hay and the more educated people are. His research gives the lie, too, to the theory that women simply are more religious than men. If religious experience is taken as the measure, then, according to two preliminary surveys, there is a slight preponderance of experience among men.

In general, people reporting religious experience are likely to be more stable and mentally balanced than others, not so likely to be poor, equally likely to be men or women, and quite commonly to have no formal link with any religious institution.

David Hay writes: "If we are right, then the man in the street is not as naive about religion as he is thought to be. Ignorance of religious doctrine may be widespread and increasing, but the same is not necessarily true of the experience out of which mankind has constructed such doctrine."

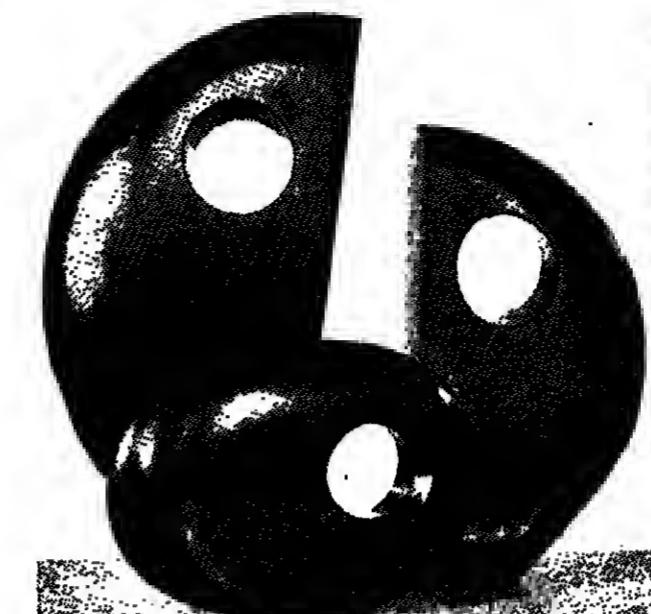
David Hay, a Roman Catholic who has had his disagreements with the Vatican line, hopes the churches will take note of his findings. Very few of the experiences reported to him have taken the form of typical conversion crisis, or of voices and visions. The experiences tended to hit people unexpectedly, and to take such forms as "I felt very alone, but at the same time I was aware of something that was giving me strength and protection me."

Again, Marxists believe that religion only survives as an opiate of the poor and oppressed. On the contrary, says Hay, religious experience tends to be more frequent the higher up the socio-economic scale one climbs,

Commenting on British artists during the 1930s, the sculptor Barbara Hepworth said, "We all seemed carried on a wave of creative energy. . . All of us worked to lay strong foundations for the future through an understanding of the true relationship between architecture, painting, and sculpture." By 1964, the year Hepworth completed the sculpture above, British art had indeed built upon that early foundation laid by such giants as Ben Nicholson, Christopher Wood, and Hepworth herself. More than any other artist of her time, Barbara Hepworth, in her broad range of sculptural achievement, reflects the manifold creative energies of British art. Her influence and inspiration are still felt in works of the succeeding generation of sculptors, whose ranks include Anthony Caro, Kenneth Martin, and William Turnbull.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977



From "The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth": Lund Humphries

### Three forms in echelon

## Recent British artists build on '30s 'wave of energy'

By Alexandra Johnsoe  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Commenting on British artists during the 1930s, the sculptor Barbara Hepworth said, "We all seemed carried on a wave of creative energy. . . All of us worked to lay strong foundations for the future through an understanding of the true relationship between architecture, painting, and sculpture." By 1964, the year Hepworth completed the sculpture above, British art had indeed built upon that early foundation laid by such giants as Ben Nicholson, Christopher Wood, and Hepworth herself. More than any other artist of her time, Barbara Hepworth, in her broad range of sculptural achievement, reflects the manifold creative energies of British art. Her influence and inspiration are still felt in works of the succeeding generation of sculptors, whose ranks include Anthony Caro, Kenneth Martin, and William Turnbull.

## New Elizabethans cried: 'You never had it so good'

By Joseph C. Harsch  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The liveliest phase of life in Britain under Queen Elizabeth II began five years after her coronation. It dates from the moment the Tories, back in office and weary of the years of post-war austerity under puritanical Socialists, succeeded in getting rents in large measure decontrolled.

They failed to win total decontrol. In fact low-cost housing is still rented at sub-economic levels. But commercial buildings and middle- and upper-class houses were completely decontrolled. The result was like bringing water to the desert.

It was exciting to be a part of London life in those days. Decontrol released first freethen, then torrents of new money. It spread from the new rich in widening circles of brighter life. Shops and houses were freshly painted. A flower shop would open up, then a new restaurant. Theaters blossomed forth in new costumes and new scenery. Carnaby Street came into being. Time magazine did a cover story on "Swinging London." Tourists poured to Britain from all over the world to enjoy theater, style, and the general zest for living.

Patronage of the arts reached unprecedented levels. New money available for painters, sculptors, and writers not only allowed British artists and authors to live well, but brought an influx of foreign talent and inspiration.

The Tories were as pleased with the first fruits of decontrol (they ran for re-election in 1959 and won on the slogan "You never had it so good") that they overlooked some less desirable consequences. Fast new money led to over-speculation, sometimes with bank funds. Several of the big popular building and loan associations crashed from misuse of funds. Speculators fled to other countries.

The last few years also produced the Profumo affair in 1963, ending with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's resignation.

The following year the votaries of Britain turned back reluctantly to the straitlaced Socialists. The second Restoration was over.





Monday, May 30, 1977

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, May 30, 1977

## How special is U.S.-British relationship?

By Lord Gore-Booth  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

London

Relations between governments and peoples are strange and complicated things. They may be sensitive to a sketchy knowledge of mutual history, to economic reality, to what President Carter said on nuclear proliferation, to comradeship in arms, to geography, and even to temperament.

Over the relationship between the United States and Britain there floats, to the satisfaction of some and the indignation of others, the aura of a "special relationship." The Queen's Jubilee year furnishes an ideal occasion for discussing and deciding whether there is such a thing.

The British have tended to assume that there is such a thing, and then give the wrong reasons for it. It was for many years vaguely supposed that, having regrettably but rather sportingly lost the American War of Independence (not referred to in Britain as the "American Revolution"), the British went away and founded a powerful empire, while the Americans founded a powerful nation, and all was pretty well between them. Actually, it wasn't: there was one war (1812) and very nearly another (1861) when British action was only averted through an intervention by Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria.

### Strains developed

There were other irritants, too. Terrible strains developed during World War I when President Woodrow Wilson's scruples and initial pressure from German and Irish-American groups imposed an agonizing delay on what seemed to be the wish of many Americans to come and help the allies. Later came President Calvin Coolidge's famous "they hired the money, didn't they?" when Britain was struggling with the economic consequences of that war.

Despite these periodic strains, the British continued to perceive themselves as Americans, for all their eccentricities of accent and their surfeit of cowboys, were really very like Englishmen. But when the time came for British servicemen in World War II to go to the United States for training, those responsible for their briefing had hurriedly to reverse these legends and explain that Americans, whatever their ancestry, were very American indeed.

How did it then come about that, with such asperities and ignorance behind them, Americans and British gave perhaps the finest example ever known in the history of international teamwork? And was the phenomenon temporary, created out of dire necessity, or does it contain ingredients which, in this case at least, can make some of it permanent?

### Discussion encouraged

Indeed it does. British society developing from the aristocratic traditions of the George II period, and Americans developing their institutions on the basis of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, arrived at a concept of human rights which allows and indeed encourages open and forthright discussion.

Moreover the shared language, English, meant continuous literary exchange throughout the 19th century and into the 20th which all educated people could understand without translation or interpretation.

This was vital. For however well you or I speak, or think we speak, a foreign language, a little effort is nearly always required to make sure that we say what we mean and to be sure that we understand what the other party means. British and Americans have no such difficulty. Whatever their methods of doing business or expressing astonishment (or even agreement) may be, understanding naturally follows.

We all have our funny stories about this. Englishmen talk across the Atlantic to American friends; American operators break in: "Are you through?" "Yes," replies Englishman and cut off. But such cases do not invalidate my argument.

### Foundation laid

Whatever historic disagreements there may be about armaments, political institutions, or cold drinks, a solid foundation is laid for understanding and sympathy between the United States and Britain. A special relationship does not mean reading each other's classified documents. Or constant recourse to a hot line. It involves a much deeper sense of kinship than the racial. So long as each nation keeps its self-respect, it does not require equality of wealth or power. And the would-be skeptic who saw pictures of the Queen doing a waltzabout among the Irish in Boston knew that the relationship is something special indeed.



The Queen and Prince Philip on 1976 U.S. tour [See Page 7]

## Carter, Callaghan revive warm rapport

The term "special relationship" was revived by President Carter during British Prime Minister James Callaghan's visit to Washington in March. On the Prime Minister's return to London, identical statements were made in both houses of Parliament, in which the Prime Minister said: "The President spoke warmly of the special relationship between America and Britain, and it is my intention that the government should restore it to its proper proportion by the greatest authority on the matter in the world, the President of the United States."

To which the government leader in the House of Lords, Lord Pearson, replied:

"My lords, I am grateful for the comments of the noble lord, Lord Gore-Booth, who knows about the Foreign Office and international affairs as well as does any man in this house, and I personally agree very much with what he said."

Responding to this statement, Lord Gore-Booth, the writer of the accompanying article, an independent member of the House of Lords and former head of Her Majesty's diplomatic services, said:

"My lords, I should like to join other noble lords in the expression of satisfaction and congratulation over the visit, and

## European industry

### France

Workers councils have existed since World War II. Corporate law allows companies with more than 2,000 employees to decide whether to include worker participation on boards. The voting system is weighted against elected union directors.

A Smith Barney study finds there is little use for worker-director legislation prior to 1976 elections that must be held before March. Should a Socialist-Communist coalition control of Parliament, their joint program calls for nationalization of most key industries and a dominant role for workers in other industries remains in private hands.

The present coalition wins, small steps toward worker participation on boards can be taken in 1978 and 1979, says Smith Barney.

### Switzerland

All companies are taxed to pay into a fund that is used by the workers. The rate is 18 percent of the present bill, although men have headed up to 20 percent. says the Smith Barney report. In a "useful dialogue," is not common to the councils,

Last year the Swiss electorate voted in a national referendum against two proposals that would have permitted increased co-determination by workers. New legislation with milder proposals may be presented sometime later this year.

At present worker councils do exist but are not compulsory and their activities are limited to non-administrative matters.

In West Germany, throughout Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Western Europe, trade unions provide the base from which social democratic parties derive their strength. The AFL-CIO, while generally aligned with the Democratic Party, lacks such an organizational link.

### Social welfare on the move

All-pervasive social welfare programs in Europe, including national health programs, owe much of their development to this legislative partnership between socialist parties and their affiliated unions.

In the United States, says Mr. Bluestone, unions are compelled to bargain collectively for benefits which, in Europe, come through the legislative process.

"The U.S.," he says, "has no national health insurance, so unions must bear the burden of negotiating health protection through collective bargaining."

American unions, says Mr. Bluestone, "bargain to supplement unemployment compensation programs that vary from state to state. Collective bargaining has to negotiate pension programs to supplement the weak social security program."

Seen in this light, co-determination plans in Europe, anchored in national laws guaranteeing workers a voice in decisionmaking, spring from the effort of powerful social democratic parties to move their nations beyond political democracy to what they call industrial democracy.

What about Britain, which has close ties between the governing Labour Party and the trade union movement? A recent royal commission, exploring the possibilities of worker participation in Britain, recommends, as a start, tripartite boards of directors, comprising management, labor and "independent" outside members.

"Unions leaders," says Terry Burns, a leading British economic forecaster, "see [in such boards] a way of intruding their power, so they favor it." But Mr. Burns finds little enthusiasm among rank-and-file workers.

"In no way," says Mr. Burns, director of economic forecasting at the London Graduate School of Business Studies, "do British workers want to run their companies. They would simply have to hire managers," probably paying them more than company executives now get.

More than 100 U.S. firms have introduced the so-called Scanlon Plan, named after steelworker Joe Scanlon, who conceived the idea in the 1930s to drew management and workers closer together.

Specific plans differ from plant to plant. But common elements include a bonus system, based on gains in labor productivity, and a committee structure whereby ideas flow up and down the company chain of command.

Essentially, says Richard Ruch, vice-president for manufacturing of Herman Miller, Inc., a furnituremaking firm in Zeeland, Michigan, the Scanlon Plan "is a management strategy to involve everyone in the business." Each employee assumes "problem ownership" of his or her job.

Workers are elected to consult with management at two levels, the department level and the "zone level," meaning a periodic meeting with top management. Thus, says Mr. Ruch, "the Scanlon Plan is much more than a monthly bonus plan, though it is like also." (Herman Miller has paid 48 consecutive months of bonus.)

A majority of companies embracing Scanlon Plans are, like Herman Miller, nonunion. Some firms, concedes Mr. Ruch, adopt the plan to avoid having a union.

Many participating companies report, in addition to monthly bonuses, "substantially lower absenteeism," higher productivity, and better-quality products. Whatever its virtues, the Scanlon Plan is not co-determination in the European sense, because workers do not sit on boards of directors.

### Effect on output questioned

The consensus seems to be, in nations visited by this reporter, that co-determination, however useful in ensuring labor peace, does not markedly contribute to higher productivity.

Few, looking at the postwar economic performance of nations like Sweden and West Germany, would argue that co-determination has put a brake on economic growth. Questions arise, however, about the implications of future extensions of "industrial democracy," particularly in Sweden.

Until January, 1977, Sweden's version of co-determination called enterprise councils, which are made up of one-third each of management, white-collar, and blue-collar representatives, had only advisory powers.

Now, under a new law, the rights of trade unionists on enterprise councils are greatly strengthened. However, says Karl Olof Faxen, the employers' spokesman, "it will take a year to see how unions define their rights, how the new law shakes down."

Presumably Sweden's ownership structure will scarcely be affected by the new law. But the Meldner Plan, resulting from a study commissioned by a trade union group, would if implemented gradually transfer ownership of most Swedish companies to a central trade union fund, creating what Swedish industrialists call "trade union socialism."

### Step-by-step union ownership

The plan would apply to all companies, except public bodies and consumer cooperatives, employing more than 50 persons. It would cover 75 percent of the Swedish labor force. Each year 20 percent of a firm's pre-tax profit would be transferred, through a special stock issue, into a "collective employee fund."

This nationwide system of local funds would be controlled by a central fund, administered by the trade unions.

Many social democrats, including union members, object to this centralization of control, claiming that the rights and decisionmaking powers of local trade unions would not be enhanced by the Meldner Plan.

In West Germany, Mitbestimmung now applies, under a law effective last July 1, to all German firms employing more than 2,000 persons - about 600 companies in all. Although this greatly expands the number of worker members on their boards, it does not change the accustomed pattern of worker-management relations in Germany.

Ironically, it was the British military government of the Ruhr, just after World War II, that decreed that the great German iron and steel firms of the region, the shaws of Hitler's war machine, would henceforth have worker representation on their boards. The idea was to curtail drastically the power of the Ruhr barons, without whose support the Nazis could not have gone to war.

Now Mitbestimmung forms a basic part of West Germany's amazing postwar economic success story, while the British, who started the whole thing, have so far rejected co-determination for themselves.



Sven Simon

# from page 1

## ★ Brezhnev

Ila would retain his own post as chief of state and his leadership of the Politburo.

His eventual aim: to retire as gracefully as possible, and by degrees, leave behind hand-picked men in key posts — men unlikely to let his own name suffer as those of Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev have done.

According to Mr. Louis, Mr. Podgorny can be expected to preside over the next half-yearly meeting of the Supreme Soviet June 16, then to offer the meeting his own resignation as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium (the post that makes him chief of state).

The chairman's post (head of state) would remain vacant, Mr. Louis indicates, until the draft text of the constitution is ratified formally. That would be later this year.

In the interim the chief-of-state duties could be carried out by the heads of the various Soviet republics acting in rotation.

It is not known at this writing when the draft text of the new constitution will be published. It could be as early as Thursday (May 26); the evening May 25 edition of the government newspaper Izvestia was not appearing until the morning of the 26th. Such delays happen only in unusual and important circumstances. It might be because Izvestia will carry the text, along with Pravda, the party newspaper. But the text could be delayed until later in the year.

In any case diplomats think it likely the constitution will be ratified in time to allow Mr. Brezhnev to take over as chief of state before the huge celebrations planned for Nov. 7, the 60th anniversary of Lenin's 1917 revolution.

The Louis thesis does not rule out personal or policy differences between Podgorny and Mr. Brezhnev.

Western diplomats think it likely that such differences do exist. Pravda May 25 repeated the terse Tass announcement of the night before. Mr. Podgorny has been relieved of his duties as a member of the Politburo — without any references to "at his own request" or "for reasons of age or health," as was the case when Mr. Khrushchev left the scene and as it was for Anastas Mikoyan, Pyotr Shelest, and

Alexandr Shelepin.

It does seem, however, that Mr. Brezhnev is moving to arrange his succession himself, rather than reacting to any opposition bloc within the Politburo or the military.

Such opposition may of course exist. It may object to Mr. Brezhnev's policy of talking with the United States about arms control and other items.

But Western opinion here, now supported by Mr. Louis, tends to think Mr. Brezhnev, already in a dominant position, is moving to make himself even more unassassable before he retires.

Evidence cited by Mr. Louis in support of his version of events:

- The Central Committee meeting at which Mr. Podgorny was dropped dealt almost entirely with the new constitution, designed to replace the 1936 document of Stalin.

Specific reference was made in the official report of the meeting to a speech by Mr. Brezhnev that cited the constitutional development of fraternal socialist states. The most notable constitutional change in Yugoslavia, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania in recent years was to combine the top jobs.

- Combining the jobs is in line with a central thrust of the new constitution — adjusting the problems caused by the division between the party at all levels and the government bodies carrying out party decisions.

(Another proposed change in the works: striking references to Stalin from the Soviet national anthem. The anthem has not been sung since 1958, when Mr. Krushchev denounced Stalin.)

Some analysts think Mr. Brezhnev might be running the risk of court disaster by trying to take too much power.

These analysts think he could only take the chief-of-state job on the understanding in the Politburo that he steps down from real power soon after.

Other diplomats think Mr. Brezhnev is so obviously not another Stalin (he is thought to be a consensus man) that the concern does not apply in his case.

## ★ South Africa

Integrated one way or another, said in a major speech in Cape Town last week that Nationalist policies could evolve naturally in such a way that all races could have an effective share in decisionmaking.

For the first time he explicitly included

## ★ Oil

One match could do that if applied where Saudi oil goes down to the sea to enter the big tankers.

U.S. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal also must have been thinking of that relationship between oil and prosperity on Wednesday (May 25) when he spoke to the international monetary conference meeting in Tokyo. He noted that the United States will probably run a \$20 billion to \$23 billion trade deficit this year due to rising oil imports. He called this deficit "a major contribution toward the stability of the international monetary system." But he also urged the main surplus countries, which he identified as Japan, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands to shift over from a surplus to a deficit position and thus join the United States in such a "contribution."

The Blumenthal speech underlines the dependence of the industrial countries on Arab oil and hence the importance to all of them of a settlement in the Middle East which would be acceptable to the royal family of Saudi Arabia. An advertisement placed by that royal family in this and other newspapers last week stressed "a very special relationship" between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The advertisement listed four features of that special relationship. The first of the four was identified as the two sharing responsibility "to help facilitate the reaching of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East."

The advertisement appeared on the first day of the two-day Prince Fahd visit. The Saudis have made their point.

## ★ Wheels

first wheel was not a primitive truck but a primitive skateboard or unicycle for the tribe's acrobatic clown.

Paul Newman riding his bicycle in "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" — this is the essential spirit of the wheel. It is early morning — a shirt-sleeve morning — in the country. Nobody is there to watch but a few farm animals and a beautiful woman. It is Eden, revisited on wheels. Newman's dizzy, antic ride becomes a kind of celebration, a form of dance. Tiny man on his tiny wheel rides on the edge of the big wheel of the earth — wheels within all the cosmic wheels, turning, zigging, zagging, getting into the springtime rhythm of the universe, leaving live tracks like a message that reads: "Glad to be alive."

"Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" is, of course, about a chase. Posse on horseback pursue the fugitives in a relentlessly straight line until finally they are cornered and destroyed. No place to run — no place to zig or zag, even on wheels. The bicycle ride makes the perfect interlude: a moment of play, a circle to nowhere in the middle of that straight line.

On wheels one makes one's getaway (or the moment). To where? It doesn't matter so much. From where? Ah, that matters. One makes one's getaway from whatever is one's ultimate prison — perhaps, finally, the state of being earthbound.

A couple of millennia after the first wheel, the invention can still seem a miracle — a touch of poetry beyond belief. Nothing in the hard world should work so easily. Wheels are like an act of forgiveness.

And so, in the spring, people plant their vegetables, their fruits, their flowers. They people climb on their wheels — one or two wheels at the most. Four wheels don't really count. And as the wheels spin and the earth moves beneath us, what we are saying is: "See? I'm not plowed. I'm free."

At that first sensation of glide — half floating, half flight — we almost believe it.

This year finds him as an elderly concentration-camp survivor on a train threatened with disaster in "The Cassandra Crossing."

Mr. Strasberg calls it "a straightforward action film, a picture-picture with a message."

The long Strasberg career started in 1920s New York, where he acted and directed for a few years. In 1938 he joined in founding the Group Theater, which attained near-legendary status with its many famous productions. Later, he became artistic director of the Actors' Studio, the highly selective workshop that has generated more star-power than any similar venture: Marlon Brando, James Dean, Elizabeth Taylor, Paul Newman, Marilyn Monroe, Al Pacino, Dustin Hoffman, Joanne Woodward . . . The list goes on and on.

"Besides, I enjoy acting," he admits with a smile. "It's a relief from working with other people, which is work. After all, I can't argue with myself or give myself a hard time. And it's a new thing to experience for myself that the film actor is helpless against some things — unless he knows what will be done in the editing, which he never knows."

Mr. Strasberg emphasizes there are differences between screen and stage acting. "In film the director can create a performance that does not exist, or ruin one that does exist. There are moments of my 'Cassandra' role that I miss, because the camera was looking elsewhere when I did them. Onstage you're in sight all the time; the eye of the beholder is like shooting with three or four cameras together, and seeing it all at the same time without interruption.

"That's why theater is a different kind of immediate experience. I'm not sure we're sufficiently aware these days as to what would be lost if theater was lost. After a certain point, a theater experience exists only in the memory of man. It's written in snow, which melts . . . Yet film is equally valid as art. Movies are one of the great artistic discoveries of mankind. What is done with a medium should not be used to discredit the medium itself. And anyway, I don't like comparisons that downgrade or upgrade one art against another."

Mr. Strasberg left off active acting in 1938 because teaching "became something in which I had an original contribution to make. A major contribution — clarifying the problem of the actor, which has been misunderstood for more than 2,000 years. To put it simply, we have never been able to see acting from any angle except our own. So how can we judge our styles and techniques? How can we know our memories of past works are correct?"

Not that Mr. Strasberg had an aversion to acting personally. "I never said no to a part when it was suggested, but I never went after it either, and it just never happened."

*Richard L. Strout  
Washington correspondent  
The Christian Science Monitor*

For more than half a century, Richard Strout has been asking "Why?" in Washington. Since President Harding's day, this indefatigable reporter and columnist has written over six million Monitor words.

But Strout's reputation is built on more than longevity. Though surrounded by the Capitol trappings of pomp, power, and prominent personalities, Strout has the propensity to make no concession to those who want South Africa to move in the direction of a unitary state where there is a central legislature elected on the basis of one-man-one-vote, regardless of race or ethnic origin.]

Dr. Koornhof's fellow politicians in the National Party have declined to comment on his suggestions, which were made at the opening of a conference of conservative academics on "intergroup accommodation in plural societies." The conference was sponsored jointly by the Foreign Affairs Association of South Africa and the Foundation of Foreign Affairs of America. But his proposals are certain to be hotly opposed by many fellow Nationalists as a dangerous concession to liberal thought.

Hia lifetime of journalistic excellence has brought him many awards including the National Press Club's distinguished annual Fourth Estate Award. (He's the third recipient, following Walter Cronkite and James Reardon.)

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## Interview with Lee Strasberg

### Cameras turn on Actors' Studio founder

By David Sterritt

New York

"For me, it's a learning process!" says Lee Strasberg, one of the world's leading authorities on acting.

After decades of coaching and teaching performers, Mr. Strasberg has lately been finding out firsthand what it's like to go before the movie camera, and thence before the eyes and ears of millions of moviegoers.

His screen debut took place at age 74 in "The Godfather Part 2," where he played underworld boss Hyman Roth.

This year finds him as an elderly concentration-camp survivor on a train threatened with disaster in "The Cassandra Crossing." Mr. Strasberg calls it "a straightforward action film, a picture-picture with a message."

The long Strasberg career started in 1920s New York, where he acted and directed for a few years. In 1938 he joined in founding the Group Theater, which attained near-legendary status with its many famous productions.

Later, he became artistic director of the Actors' Studio, the highly selective workshop that has generated more star-power than any similar venture: Marlon Brando, James Dean, Elizabeth Taylor, Paul Newman, Marilyn Monroe, Al Pacino, Dustin Hoffman, Joanne Woodward . . . The list goes on and on.

"Besides, I enjoy acting," he admits with a smile. "It's a relief from working with other people, which is work. After all, I can't argue with myself or give myself a hard time. And it's a new thing to experience for myself that the film actor is helpless against some things — unless he knows what will be done in the editing, which he never knows."

Mr. Strasberg emphasizes there are differences between screen and stage acting. "In film the director can create a performance that does not exist, or ruin one that does exist. There are moments of my 'Cassandra' role that I miss, because the camera was looking elsewhere when I did them. Onstage you're in sight all the time; the eye of the beholder is like shooting with three or four cameras together, and seeing it all at the same time without interruption.

"Before the Method, it seemed that the greater acting was the less control there was. It seemed to be based only on inspiration. Nobody knew what helped the actor achieve that moment of inspiration. Like Tolstoy or an Einstein, Stanislavsky set out to solve his problem, which is most severe for the actor since he works in front of other people. Stanislavsky observed; he defined procedures and exercises that would train these faculties. But he didn't make anything up. Columbus didn't make America up. He discovered it."

Mr. Strasberg sees his own function as "clarifying and showing what Stanislavsky really found. He was not a thinker, he had no real knowledge of the other arts. He was very concrete. We carry on his work — trying to define what is the talent you train, and what makes a great performance great. We have learned little from books, and have been remiss in our own writing. But who cares what our memories of past works are correct?"

The male claim to fame of Mr. Strasberg and the Actors' Studio is associated with the Method — a systematic way of focusing and forming the actor's art. Though it has some forceful detractors — including such a famous performer as George C. Scott and many critics who call it self-indulgent — it's become a highly respected approach to the methodical madness that is theater.

Mr. Strasberg left off active acting in 1938 because teaching "became something in which I had an original contribution to make. A major contribution — clarifying the problem of the actor, which has been misunderstood for more than 2,000 years. To put it simply, we have never been able to see acting from any angle except our own. So how can we judge our styles and techniques? How can we know our memories of past works are correct?"

Not that Mr. Strasberg had an aversion to acting personally. "I never said no to a part when it was suggested, but I never went after it either, and it just never happened."

# people/places/things



Strasberg: a chance to practice what he's been preaching

The catalyst that changed all this was Al Pacino, a long-time friend who suggested he teacher to Francis Ford Coppola for the "Godfather" role.

Mr. Strasberg accepted the part "because I wanted to check things out, to find out for myself if movie acting was a worthwhile experience. I thought, if it is, I'll do it again. If it doesn't work, no one will notice. It was a real surprise when the part got so much response. Until that happened, I hadn't known I would have had the nerve to do it!"

Later he accepted the "Cassandra Crossing" role that he wasn't a one-shot success, that he could do a variety of roles, and that he wasn't really a masher. (He discovered he was so convincing in his screen debut that some spectators confused him with the role he played.)

"Besides, I enjoy acting," he admits with a smile. "It's a relief from working with other people, which is work. After all, I can't argue with myself or give myself a hard time. And it's a new thing to experience for myself that the film actor is helpless against some things — unless he knows what will be done in the editing, which he never knows."

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# home



For summer patios put plants on logs, tables, or tubes, in barrels or baskets, or hang them high

## Where pot plants hang out in summer

By Marily Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

It's that time of year — time for outdoor pot gardening. Time for greening up city balconies and terraces. Time for plopping plants on patios, porches, and at poolside. Time to think about interesting and ingenious containers for that multitude of pots, to think in terms of decorative and whimsy and sheer delight.

Our sketch artist, Ann Matthews, went foraging through garden shops, nurseries, craft

outlets, pottery barns, hardware, and dime stores, and came up with this assortment of ideas for enhancing pots.

She liked the idea of putting pots on old wire cable spools, tree stumps, and tiered steps that one can make oneself. She liked the Mexican painted terra cotta pots that can be bought so reasonably in markets and bazaars. And the Italian pots that are more expensive, but just as appealing.

Our artist found that various sized logs, with bark on or peeled off, could make interesting pedestals for plants around a patio. And that a

slab of tree trunk, 8 or 10 inches high, would always make a fitting showplace for colorful pots of primroses or geraniums.

She found barrels of all sizes, for planting good-sized trees and flowering bushes. She saw them used full size, or cut in half. The barrel she bought for herself cost \$25. Many nurseries which sell the trees also sell the barrels. They recommend two or three sacks of rich soil planting mix for each large barrel, placed on a lining of stones or pieces of broken flower pot for proper drainage.

If you buy a plant from a nursery in its usual one-gallon size bucket, try dropping the bucket at once into a straw-textured basket and feel the thrill of instant decorating.

If you need long, large containers for quick-growing vines to cover iron balcony guards, or fences, look at the many poured-concrete forms that are available.

Buy bricks and boards to make those tiered steps. Buy wicker and redwood stools, benches, and containers. Think about plastic Parsons tables from the dimestore or discount house, stacked one on top of another, or used singly to hold many plants.

Inspect garden shops or craft outlets for those clay pots which hang at staggered lengths, from rope, wire, leather, or macrame.

If you want to be a little fanciful, choose a terra cotta turtle, chicken, snail, frog, or duck. These playful planters range in price from about \$5 to \$15 and they can produce a smile, as well as a plant. Plastic pipes and cinder blocks can be used effectively to hold other pots.

What do you do with this array if you have no move?

If plants can't go along, artist Matthews suggests a garage "plant and pot" sale. She knows a few neighbors who have doubled their money when they sold healthy, flourishing plants that were set off in clever containers.

### Chicken wings good appetizers

#### MONITOR RECIPE



Miniature drumsticks, made by broiling chicken wings with a coating of bananas, orange juice and currant jelly make for good eating, perfect for appetizers or for a light snack.

The wings are cut at the joint and the meaty part used for the appetizer. Save the wing tips to make a delicious chicken soup or stock to use as a base for soups and gravies.

#### Ministre Drumsticks

2 pounds chicken wings  
Salt  
Pepper

$\frac{1}{2}$  cup mashed ripe bananas (2 medium)  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  cup orange juice  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  cup currant jelly

Cut away tip of chicken wings at first joint; reserve for soup or stock. Cut re-

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## Play with a whale and make a friend

Photos and text  
by R. Norman Matheoy  
Staff photographer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Laguna San Ignacio, Baja California  
As the 35-ton mother whale and her one-ton calf playfully shoved, nudged, rolled against, and splashed our skiff one of the vessel's excited passengers exclaimed, "Wow! This is better than a movie."

That was quite an understatement for one very sophisticated fifth-grader, Tommy Fuhrman, from Los Angeles.

"We just came to play," said his father, as we all grabbed our seats for support when the boat jolted from another gentle flip of her enormous tail.

We were seven human toys in life jackets, the playthings of some very friendly whales.

Our cue came when suddenly the frolic would pause and the tip of a great head would emerge near the boat. It would stay up for only a moment, and our touches were always brief, but it would keep coming back.

"Oh! It feels kinda rubbery," grinned Jerry Sober, a vacationing employee of the University of California. She glanced at her hand in wonder of it.

This was an annual tour by members and guests of the American Cetacean Society, a group formed to study and protect marine mammals. Our base of operations and home for a week was the 65-foot "Searcher," a luxury fishing boat on off-season assignment.

The group had been hopeful of a repetition of



Whale nuzzles up to boat to greet visitors

friendly whale activity, noted for the first time by whale watchers in the lagoons last year. In cautious tone, Richard C. Matheus, national president of the society commented, "We don't fully understand this, they seem to want to be touched."

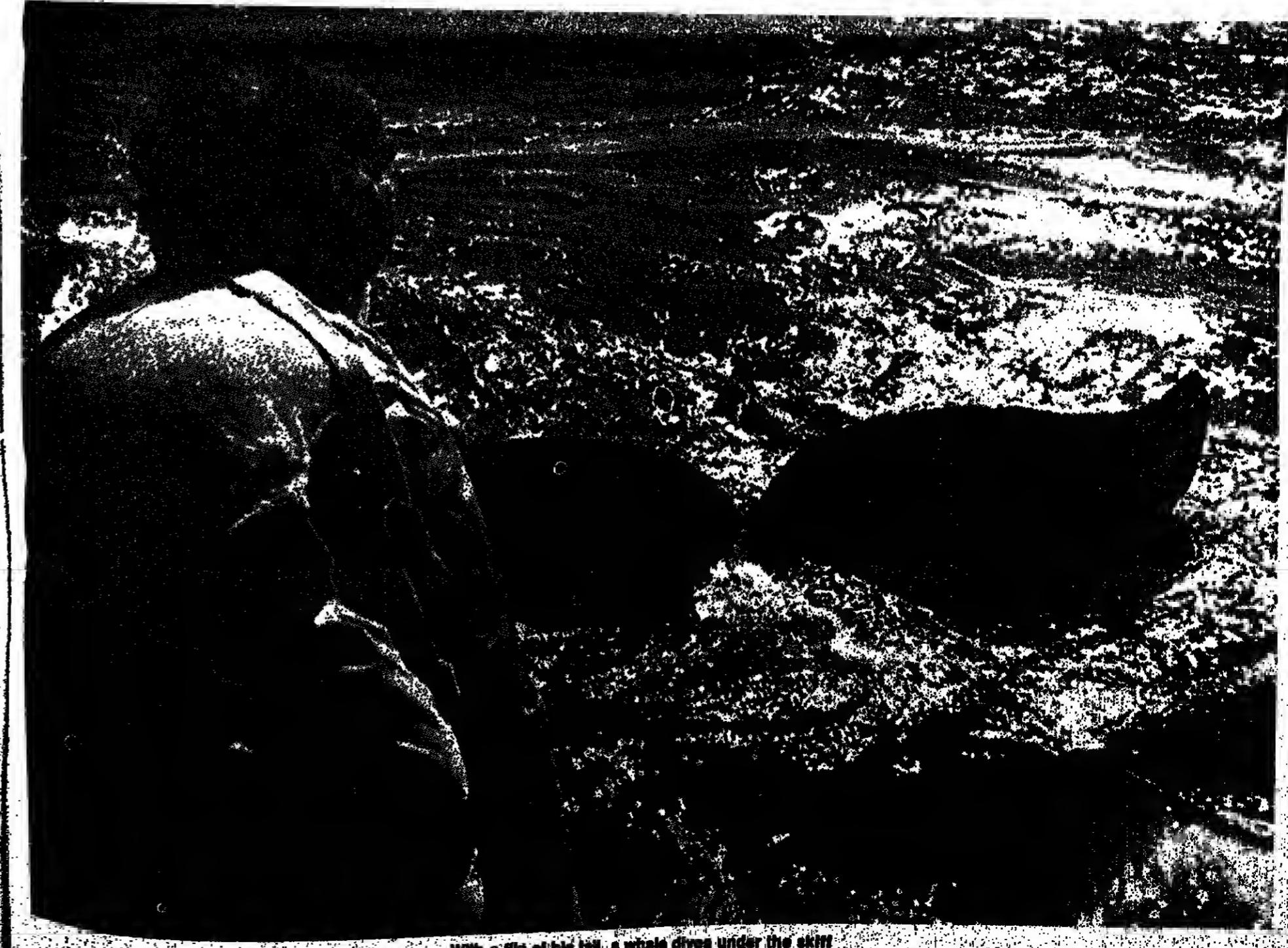
Whatever the explanation, more than half of the 32 participants in the expedition had touched a whale at least once by the end of the day.

This whale activity had never before involved such frequent contact with as many boats during a lengthy period. Previously, brief

encounters were noticed mainly around 2 p.m. and not daily, according to marine scientist Stephen Swartz, who heads a research team which lived in tents here during the whales' visit.

Whale-watching can be done December through March, either on day trips as the whales migrate along the coast or on one-week excursions while they linger in the lagoons.

General information is available in the fall from the San Diego Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1200 Third Ave., San Diego, California, 92101.



With a flip of his tail, a whale dives under the skiff

# environment

# arts/books

## U.S. promotes British art

By Diana Loercher

New Haven, Connecticut  
Yale University really doesn't need more prestige than it already has, but this spring it added even more luster to its illustrious reputation with the opening of the Yale Center for British Art. The center, designed by the late Louis Kahn, houses and hosts the largest collection of British painting, prints, drawings, and rare illustrated books outside England.

Yale owes this stunning acquisition to the largesse of alumnus Paul Mellon (Class of '29), who bestowed upon his alma mater with this collection the honor of becoming the primo repository of British culture in the United States.

Edmund Pillsbury, director of the center, emphasized at the press preview that "this is really not just an art museum. The importance of this opening is not just the opening of another museum. This is also a research institution and foundation involved in the promotion of British art seen in its broadest context — literary, social, and historical. The design reflects its dual function as a public gallery and a research center."

The educational commitment of the center is borne out by its extensive study facilities: an art reference library, a photo archive, and a painting study gallery. To supplement its regular program of changing exhibitions, which will treat history and literature as well as art, the center is planning educational events and cooperation with schools and universities in the area. It also offers grants through its London affiliate, the Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art. Thus, the center proposes to serve scholar and layman alike with programs that cater to the interests of each and the pockets of both: Admission is free.

But there would be no education for anyone without the collection, and that, of course, is the core of the center's existence. Begun by Mr. Mellon about 30 years ago, the collection reflects his predilection for country life and casual pursuits and presents a less formal image of British art than the stereotype to which one is accustomed. Its quality is staggering as is its sheer volume — 1,750 paintings, 5,000 prints, 7,000 drawings, and 20,000 rare books. The paintings alone include 100 works by Constable, 42 by Hogarth, 41 by Gainsborough, 35 by Stubbs, and 76 by Turner.

Of course, the works themselves are the true index of the quality of a collection, and one finds on the fourth-floor galleries an unusual proportion of "great" paintings, particularly in that rich period of British art from the birth of Hogarth to the death of Turner (1797-1851). There are, in fact, entire rooms devoted to the great British painters where one confronts such masterpieces as Turner's "View of Dordrecht," Constable's "Hedgelay Castle," Hogarth's "Beggar's Opera," and Stubbs's "Portrait of Turf."

## Novelist Jhabvala's stories: distinguished by sense and sensibility

How I Became a Holy Mother, by Ruth Prawer Jhabvala. New York: Harper and Row, \$12.95. London: John Murray, £3.95.

By Victor Neves

If the wit laughs at others and is dry of eye, the humorist laughs at others, his eyes moist with self-recognition. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala must be included among the humorists.

Again and again in these nine short stories she shows us to ourselves with a laughter that is born of compassion. The Indian land may be mountainous and given to monsoons, Indian customs may involve child-marriage and the chanting of mantras, but under our protective colorations we are all one. Change but the names — the story is told about you. Blackmail, infidelity, heartbreak, simple childlike love, unselfish giving, all transcend national boundaries.

There is the fat, egomistical maestro with important political connections, who selfishly deprives his wife of the pleasure of attending her niece's wedding, but whose singing still fills her with wonder and delight.

As a writer of short stories she suggests

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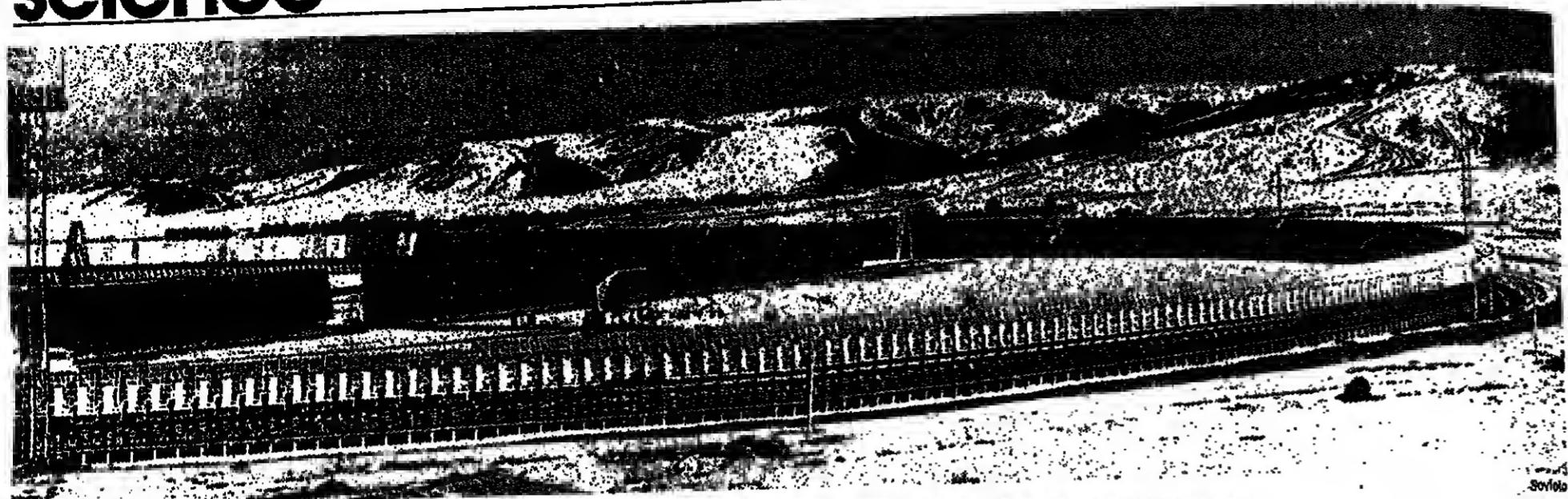
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# science



Giant RATAN 600 radio telescope in Northern Caucasus: cocking an ear to the cosmos

## Soviets search the Milky Way for 'super-civilizations'

By Kenneth W. Galtland  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

London

Using the most advanced radiotelescopes, Soviet scientists plan to probe the Milky Way for signs of very advanced machine-based "super civilizations."

A broad-based search program is being coordinated between leading radio astronomers and physicists and the Moscow Institute of Space Research.

Dr. Nikolai Kardashev, who heads one of the research teams, believes civilizations elsewhere may have lapped the energy of their own suns to solve their energy problems on a massive scale.

If so they will have begun to colonize neighboring space and will be pumping out enormous quantities of energy which should be detectable to Earth.

Soviet scientists are said to be making detailed maps of the radio sky as a means of pinpointing likely sources of extraterrestrial intelligence.

### Radio map drafted

The Shierberg Institute and the Institute of Space Research are compiling a radio map in the 3.5 centimeter wavelength. This work, begun in 1970 with the 22-meter dish in the Crimea, is now to be continued with the giant RATAN 600 radio telescope, which has just become fully operational in the Northern Caucasus.

The Russians consider the RATAN an optimal instrument in the search for intelligent signals. Dr. Kardashev favors seeking monochromatic or pulsed signals from the center of the Galaxy and from the nuclei of other galaxies and quasars.

He advocates making a search for "new objects in the least-explored parts of the electromagnetic spectrum." The RATAN

600 will be used to survey the entire range from 4 millimeters to 20 centimeters in which there is a minimum of natural interference impeding observation of cosmic sources.

The program, says Dr. Kardashev, seeks "super-civilizations" which ought to command transmitters far more powerful than ours which could be engaged in advance forms of astro-engineering activity. They would be detectable over cosmic distances through thermal radiation.

Dr. Kardashev is apparently interested in a point source (smaller than our solar system) responsible for a short-wave emission from the center of the Galaxy and to several infrared sources nearby.

### Searching the universe

Dr. Kardashev and his colleague Dr. Lev Gindilis have also made searches for radio pulses of short duration with large intervals between pulses which they consider one of the most probable types of signals of artificial origin.

The project, begun in 1972, led to the setting up of small receiving stations free of local interference and spaced 1,800 miles apart in the mountains of the Northern Caucasus and in the Pamirs.

Identical apparatus was used to pick up all radio signals from the sky in the 55-65 centimeter wavelength and all signals of 0.1 to 10 seconds duration were registered at both sites between Sept. 5 and Oct. 25.

### Signals recognized

When the recordings were processed several types of correlating signals were found and further analysis showed that one type of signal came from an artificial satellite. Another could be traced to the sporadic radio emission of the Sun and the atmosphere.

So the net was enlarged. Six receiving stations were set up on land in the Soviet Far East, the Crimea, near Murmansk and near Gorky and one aboard the research ship Akademik Kurchatov anchored in the Atlantic near the equator.

## Guatemalans get language help

Almost half the children in Guatemala do not speak Spanish at home; instead they speak one of 25 dialects.

This language difficulty has, according to recent UNESCO studies, been a main source of in-school failure for nearly half of all the children who start school.

At present a program is under way that appears to be making a considerable difference for youngsters in school.

Assistant teachers have been recruited who speak a dialect, and also Spanish, and are identified as potential leaders in their communities.

Before they start their work as assistant teachers, they have a two-month training session.

There are now 360 such teachers, and their results are strong. More and more children are staying in school and are being promoted to the next grade.

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# education

## Free University of Berlin: revolution takes a back seat

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

West Berlin

Prof. Eberhard Leemann, who likes to wear turtlenecks and tweeds, has taken on a job that is hardly for casual people. He is the new president of the Free University of Berlin, an institution with the reputation of being the political university's political university.

It Berkeley had a student revolt, the Free University of Berlin when it had its most violent revolt in 1967-68 and he had some of the student activists in his seminary. He is a specialist in German language and literature. He left Berlin after the period of unrest and has taught and done his research at the University of Hidelberg since then. He studied for a semester at Princeton and lectured at other universities in the United States.

Professor Laemmert was teaching at the Free University when it had its most violent revolt in 1967-68 and he had some of the student activists in his seminary. He is a specialist in German language and literature. He left Berlin after the period of unrest and has taught and done his research at the University of Hidelberg since then. He studied for a semester at Princeton and lectured at other universities in the United States.

He replaces Rolf Kreibich, who was elected president of the Free University in 1969 as a 30-year-old assistant professor.

The Social Democratic government in West Berlin had at that time just passed a new uni-

versity law that set up the presidential system, giving professors, assistant professors, and students each a third of the vote in the selection process.

Mr. Kreibich completely reorganized the faculties, breaking five faculties into 24, and made extensive changes in curricula.

The polarization that occurred just before and after his election would have started a politicized U.S. professor. Professors resigned, many transferred. Three groups formed which continue to this day, a left, a center, and a right. Professors' assistants, students, and employees were involved.

Marxists argued and still do that a university is a microcosm of society and must be completely democratized. They wanted to use the university as a base for changing society. This was an ideology that drew many students from all over West Germany to the university in the middle and late '60s. It also drew a lot of draft dodgers, who were exempt in Berlin.

"This radical ideology, which governed in the late 1960s, has lost its influence today," Professor Laemmert says. He continues: "Revolution now is the goal of only a few small political groups and a few veterans. Today the students strike [as they did in De-

cember] about poor professional opportunities, hard financial conditions, tough competition in examinations. They feel pinched by society."

In 1969 this university had 14,500 students. Today it has 22,000.

Traditionally, only 5 to 7 percent of the population in Germany have attended university. Today 20 percent do, and plane call for 25 to 27 percent by 1980. But the job market is not absorbing graduates in positions the graduate have aspired to.

Overcrowding at the university is Professor Laemmert's biggest concern. "Studying in smaller groups is the key to excellent work," he says, "but this has become problematic."

Until 1968 the Free University was a political showcase of academic freedom. Then for 10 years it struggled with internal reform, and beginning in 1968, it was misused in part by groups that wanted to revolutionize society overnight. Still, useful reforms did emerge.

Now it entered a more settled period as it tackles the problem of dealing with the flood of students who want a better life.

Professor Laemmert wants to show "that this university, more than people realize, has steadily done solid academic work and it can prove its own usefulness."

## Foreign colleges exert strong pull

Statistics of Students Abroad: 1969-1973, UNESCO.

This is the second report on students who leave their home country — with the intention of returning — to study at colleges and universities in another nation. The first study chronicled the 1962 to 1968 period.

Some interesting trends show up in this bilingual (English-French) 344-page report. From 1969 to 1973, the number of students going abroad to study rose 33 percent. In raw numbers, some 637,500 students were out of the country in 1973.

Europe absorbed the most (44 percent), and North America about 33 percent.

The best estimate of total enrollment in

higher education in the world for 1973, is 32 million. Hence the total number studying abroad is only around 2 percent. And while a significant number of those who do leave their home countries, never do return, the so-called "brain drain" constitutes a tiny minority for most nations.

Of the 637,500 foreign students in 1973, only 148,000 were women; less than 1 out of 4.

Although the United States accepted the greatest number of overseas students (151,066), this represented less than 2 percent of all college and university students in the country. Next in host country enrollments were: France (68,473), Canada (64,452), West Germany (34,288), the Soviet Union (30,569) and the United Kingdom (29,046).

C. P.

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# French/German

## Les jeunes villageois s'ennuient dans les villes soviétiques

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 11]

par David K. Willis  
Correspondant du Christian Science Monitor  
Moscou

Une marée de jeunes rentre de la campagne dans les villes tous les dimanches après-midi, surtout des jeunes filles, prêts pour une semaine de travail dans les usines et les bureaux.

Ils couchent dans des dortoirs et gagnent des salaires raisonnables. Ils vont au cinéma, lisent des romans, regardent la télévision.

Mais il vendredi après-midi, ils prennent de nouveau l'autocar pour rentrer dans leurs villages afin de passer le week-end à la ferme. Ils essayent d'échapper à l'ennui de la ville — cependant ils s'ennuient trop mortellement à la campagne pour y vivre tout le temps.

Les fonctionnaires soviétiques cherchent des solutions à l'agitation et à l'insatisfaction de ces jeunes.

Le problème n'est pas simple du tout.

Les jeunes quittant la campagne pour obtenir gloire ou fortune dans la grande ville constituent l'essentiel de la main-d'œuvre de bien des villes de ce pays, qui est encore en grande partie rural.

Qui actionne les machines-nuilles de l'usine ? demande l'éminent démographe soviétique Viktor Perevedentsev dans un numéro récent de *Culture soviétique*, une pu-

blication du Comité central du parti communiste, parissant à Moscou toutes les trois semaines.

Voici ce qu'il écrit : « Ce sont d'anciens villageois. Parmi les adultes demeurant dans les villes, les natifs de régions rurales prédominent nettement, écrit-il.

Ils viennent à la ville quand ils sont âgés de 15 à 25 ans. Beaucoup de filles y viennent dès l'âge de 15 ans, après avoir quitté l'école. Les garçons restent à la campagne jusqu'à leur appel sous les drapeaux pour le service militaire. Mais maintenant, d'après les statistiques soviétiques, ils reviennent à la vie civile à l'âge de 20 ans. Ils ont tendance à suivre leurs amis à la ville.

On trouve facilement du travail dans la plupart des villes par suite de la pénurie de main-d'œuvre. Il y a bien plus de choses à faire après le travail que dans un village où tout le monde se connaît et où la routine ne varie pas.

Mais des articles récents parus dans la presse soviétique suggèrent que beaucoup de jeunes gens de la campagne trouvent les villes tout aussi ennuyeuses, une fois que la première excitation de la découverte s'est dissipée.

*Culture soviétique* a envahi une dame journaliste dans la ville de Kursk, non loin de Moscou. Elle trouva que le complexe de bonneterie local employait beaucoup de fillettes de la campagne qui vivaient dans des

dortoirs pendant la semaine. Elles gagnaient environ 140 roubles (900 francs) par mois — un bon salaire pour une jeune personne ici. Mais elles avaient aussi le mal du pays.

Eles ne montrent aucun intérêt pour les théâtres, les musées, les conférences, les clubs de la ville.

Tout ce qui remplissait leur vie — foyer, famille, proximité de la terre et de la nature, amis et connaissances personnelles — a disparu de leur vie, mais elles n'ont pas encore trouvé de nouvelles valeurs spirituelles, écrit le reporter.

Dans l'Asie centrale soviétique, les jeunes naissances sont encore élevées (lesquels aient baissé ailleurs). L'émigration vers la ville est censée devoir augmenter de façon importante. Toutefois, dans l'Ouzbékistan, le Kazakhstan et d'autres régions de l'Asie centrale, les différences entre la campagne et la ville sont encore plus marquées que dans le reste de l'Union soviétique.

Mais, a-t-il pas été attiré par le genre d'attractions que les villes peuvent offrir — musique classique, peinture, ballet — ces jeunes gens ont tendance à trouver la routine de la ville aussi peu intéressante que celle de la campagne qu'ils veulent quitter, continue-t-il. Ils sont seuls dans la foule. Ils vont chez eux en fin de semaine pour se changer les idées, mais ils continuent à revenir à la ville pendant la semaine.

Des milliers de résidents urbains de provenance rurale sont tout à fait comme ça, écrit M. Perevedentsev, ni urbains ni ruraux, mais marginaux. Beaucoup d'entre eux ne sont pas attirés par le genre d'attractions que les villes peuvent offrir — musique classique, peinture, ballet — ces jeunes gens ont tendance à trouver la routine de la ville aussi peu intéressante que celle de la campagne qu'ils veulent quitter, continue-t-il. Ils sont seuls dans la foule. Ils vont chez eux en fin de semaine pour se changer les idées, mais ils continuent à revenir à la ville pendant la semaine.

La question qui se pose est de savoir si les différences peuvent être combées au rapidement pour prévenir un retour massif à la campagne (principalement des crises de manque de main-d'œuvre dans les villes) ou avant que l'agitation et le mécontentement ne puissent entraîner à d'autres problèmes sociaux.

## Sowjetische Landjugend des Stadtlebens überdrüssig

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 11 in englischer Sprache.]

Von David K. Willis  
Korrespondent  
des Christian Science Monitors

Moskau

Jeden Sonnabend machen sich junge Menschen vom Lande, meistens Mädchen, scharenweise auf den Weg in die

Städte, um dort die Woche über in Fabriken und Büros zu arbeiten.

Sie schlafen im Wohnumfeld und haben ein mittleres Einkommen. Sie geben ins Kino, lesen Romane oder sehen sich Sendungen im Fernsehen an.

Am Freitagabend jedoch fahren sie wieder mit dem Zug nach Hause aufs Land

und verbringen dort die Wochenende. Sie suchen der Langeweile in den Städten zu entfliehen, doch andererseits sind sie auch das Leben auf dem Lande überdrüssig, das sie nichtständig dort sein möchten.

Die sowjetischen Behörden suchen nach Lösungen für diese Unruhe, diese Unzufriedenheit.

Es handelt sich hier keineswegs um ein unbedeutendes Problem.

Junge Menschen, die dem Leben auf dem Lande den Rücken wenden, um in den Großstädten ihr Glück zu suchen, sind das Rückgrat des Arbeitskräftepotentials vieler Städte in diesem immer noch vorwiegend landwirtschaftlich genutzten Land.

Wer bedient die Maschinen in den Fabriken, wer stellt die Verkäufer in den Geschäften, wer fährt die städtischen Busse? fragte kürzlich der bekannte sowjetische Demokrat Viktor Perevedentsev in der Zeitschrift *Sowjetische Kultur*, die alle drei Wochen vom Zentralkomitee der kommunistischen Partei in Moskau herausgegeben wird.

Seine Antwort: Menschen, die vom Lande gekommen sind. Die Mehrzahl der Erwachsenen in den Städten sind ehemalige Landbewohner, schreibt er.

Sie ziehen zwischen ihrem fünfzehnten und fünfundzwanzigsten Lebensjahr in die Stadt; viele Mädchen sind gerade fünfzehn und haben die echte Klasse absolviert. Die Jungen bleiben auf dem Lande, bis sie zum Militärdienst einberufen werden. Doch wenn sie zwanzig sind, kehren sie wieder ins Zivilleben zurück, wie die sowjetischen Untersuchungen zeigen, und gewöhnlich folgen sie ihren Freunden in die Städte.

In den meisten Städten herrscht akuter Arbeitskräftemangel, und das Stellenangebot ist groß. Auch kann man dort nach der Arbeit viel mehr unternehmen als auf einem Dorf, wo jeder jeden kennt und ein Tag wie der andere verläuft.

Jüngste Artikel in den sowjetischen Presse ist jedoch zu entnehmen, daß viele junge Menschen vom Lande nach den anfänglichen aufregenden Entdeckungen daheim in der Stadt ebenso einlöst finden.

Die Zeitschrift *Sowjetische Kultur* schickte eine Korrespondentin nach Kursk, einer Stadt unweit von Moskau. Sie fand heraus, daß im Strickwarenkombinat, viele Mädchen vom Lande arbeiteten. Sie verdienten etwa 140 Rubel (ca. 450 Mark) im Monat — viel Geld für einen jungen Men-



'Good friend, I anoint your head with oil'

den. She is surrounded by debris, including a piece of paper that says 'MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION' and another that says 'Pres. Carter'. In the background, there's a large pile of papers and a small figure of a person.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]  
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum

Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine.

## Prêter, est-ce la solution ?

Etant donné que les ressources et l'argent ne sont pas synonymes, il nous faut en connaître quelques-unes des caractéristiques. L'argent est tout au plus un symbole des ressources et peut s'épuiser. Les ressources divines se composent d'idées spirituelles, qui sont inexhausables.

La Bible nous dit : « A l'Eternel la terre et ce qu'elle renferme. » Par conséquent tout appartient à Dieu, qui fit tout. Mais l'être réel, spirituel, de l'homme réside dans le temple, « marchant, sautant, et louant Dieu ». Ce que Pierre avait, c'était la conviction profonde du pouvoir guérisseur du Christ opérant dans la conscience humaine. Il l'avait donné quelques places de monnaie à l'imposteur, cela l'aurait-il guéri ? Non, cela aurait seulement répondu à ses besoins temporairement, parce que, comme l'histoire nous le relate, il était à la porte toute la jour, demandant l'aumône. Apparemment, il était encore sous l'emprise des mêmes croyances erronées à une condition physique paraissant que celles qu'il avait eues depuis sa naissance. Pierre vit au-delà de l'apparence matérielle jusqu'à la réalité spirituelle.

J'ai souvent eu l'occasion de prêter et de donner de l'argent à d'autres pour essayer de répondre à leurs besoins financiers. Ces prêts ont rarement été remboursés, et des requêtes supplémentaires m'ont souvent été faites. Quand je faisais des dons à des amis, ils se sentaient perdus ou embarrassés, ce qui créait des relations tendues. Après de nombreuses années de désappointements et de pertes financières, je pris conscience qu'il y avait en général un besoin spirituel sous l'apparence extérieure de manque.

Le dernier appel de fonds qui me parvint émanait d'une connaissance qui démeurait dans une autre ville, et qui demandait de l'argent pour faire réparer sa voiture. Je sens que je devais obtenir une meilleure compréhension de ce qui constitue les ressources. Est-ce que prêter de l'argent à cette personne l'aiderait vraiment à s'élever au-dessus de son besoin continu d'argent ? Est-ce que cela augmenterait sa croissance spirituelle, qui semblait nécessaire dans cette circonstance ? Est-ce que je suis fausse que prolonger le problème en soutenant temporairement par une sagesse de fonds ?

Die Bibel sagt uns: „Die Erde ist des Herrn und was darin ist.“ Deshalb gehört alles Gott an, der alles geschaffen hat. Doch das wirkliche, geistige Sein des Menschen spiegelt die Intelligenz, Liebe und Güte Gottes wider. Diese Wahrheit kann dadurch, daß wir das göttliche Erbe des Menschen wahrnehmen praktisch zum Ausdruck bringen. Im absoluten Sinne kann uns kein Mensch auf Erden irgend etwas geben, was wir nicht abnehmen können; noch kann irgend jemand uns etwas nehmen oder vorenthalten.

Ich habe viele Male anderen Darlehen oder Geld gegeben, da Ich Ihnen aus finanziellen Schwierigkeiten herausgeholfen wollte. Die Darlehen wurden selten zurückgezahlt, und oft wurde ich um mehr gebeten. Wenn ich Freunden Geld geschenkt habe, fühlten sie sich manchmal mir gegenüber verpflichtet, oder es war ihnen peinlich, was zu geplannten zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen führte. Nachdem ich viele Jahre Enttäuschungen und finanzielle Verluste erlitten hatte, erkannte ich, daß sich hinter dem, was Menschen zu sein schien, gewöhnlich ein gel-

stiges Bedürfnis verbarg. Den letzten Anruf erhielt Ich vonchein Bekannten, der in einer anderen Stadt wohnte und mich um Geld für Autoparaturen bat. Ich gab ihm Geld, das Ich ein besseres Verständnis von dem erlangen mußte, was Versorgung nicht gleichbedeutend ist mit Geld, müssen wir einige ihrer charakteristischen Merkmale kennen. Geld ist bestensfalls ein Symbol für Versorgung und kann ausgebraucht werden. Die göttliche Versorgung jedoch besteht aus geistigen Ideen, die unerschöpflich sind.

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Ich betete darüber und hoffte es für unklug, ihm das Geld zu senden. Es wurde mir aber auch klar, daß der wirkliche Mensch in die Liebe und Fürsorge des himmlischen Vaters eingegliedert und immer versorgt ist. Später erfuhrt Ich, daß mein Bekannter zu der Zeit kein Auto besaß und das Geld für Alkohol ausgeben wollte. Ja, er war froh, daß er das Geld nicht erhielt, sondern die Scham, die er sich schämte sich seiner Lüge. Wenn Ich ihm das Geld geschenkt hätte, hätte er vielleicht noch nicht sein wirkliches Bedürfnis – geistige Erneuerung – erkannt.

In der Bibel finden wir einen Bericht über wehrhaftes Geben, und zwar als ein Lahmer, der an der Tür zum Tempel bettelte, gebettelt wurde. Als Petrus und Johannes, die Jünger Jesu, den Mann sahen,

daß er Ihnen leid, aher Petrus sagte zu ihm: „Silber und Gold habe ich nicht; was Ich aber habe, das gebe Ich dir.“ Wie uns berichtet wird, ging dann der Mann in den Tempel, „wanderte und sprang und lobte Gott“. Was Petrus hatte, war die tiefe Überzeugung, daß die heilende Macht des Christus in menschlichen Bewußtsein wirkte. Wäre der Lahme geholt worden, wenn er ihm einige Münzen gegeben hätte? Nein, seine Nase wäre nur vorübergehend gestillt worden, dann wie berichtet wird, saß er täglich vor der Tür und bettelte um Almosen. Er trug offensichtlich immer noch dieselben falschen Annahmen eines verkrüppelten körperlichen Zustandes mit sich herum, den er seit seiner Geburt hatte. Petrus blickte über den materiellen Augenschein hinaus auf die geistige Wirklichkeit.

Natürlich gibt es keinen. Im Ideal sollte diese Art der Unterstützung dem Befriedeten helfen, sich selbst zu helfen. Wenn wir uns in einer Situation befinden, wo wir jemandem unter die Arme greifen müssen, sollten wir unsere Motive prüfen, um sicher zu sein, daß sie rein sind – daß sie unserem höchsten Verständnis von Gottes Liebe entsprechen. Tragen wir unsere eigene persönliche Wichtigkeit zur Schau und setzen uns über andere? Oder streben wir danach, unser Denken zu vergeistigen, und lassen dadurch andere an den geistigen Ideen teilhaben, die wir uns zu eigen gemacht haben und auf alle Angelegenheiten in unserem Leben anwenden?

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, sagt folgendes über die weltreißende Wirkung rechten Denkens: „Gute Gedanken sind ein un durchdringlicher Panzer; damit angeht, soll Ich gegen die Angriffe des Irrtums jeder Art vollständig geschützt. Und nicht nur Ihr sollt geborgen, sondern alle, auf denen eure Gedanken ruhen, werden dadurch gesegnet.“

In der Erkenntnis, daß Geld nicht das gute Leben geben kann, müssen wir uns also auf Gott als den Ursprung und die Substanz unserer Gesundheit und unseres Glücks verlassen. Und wir können dies mit Zuversicht tun.

Psalm 41:1-5. Apologetisches S. 6-8: „Die Heilige Kirche, Wissenschaftler, und Verleger.“

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft – Wissenschaft und Gerechtigkeit – ist ein schönes Werk auf dem Gebiete der Religion. Das Buch kann in den Leseräumen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder bei Frau O. Carter, 100 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02116.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften:

„Cyrilus Stannard, Boston, Massachusetts.“

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## The richest person on earth

My friend Ibrahim is a rather special man. Not many school directors in this part of the world decided to become peasants. But such a one is my friend. I go and visit him occasionally when I feel the need to get into touch with the extraordinary wisdom of African tradition, to talk to a man with no guile, with no mask, to feel a knowledge so real and palpable that it makes our Western theories read like comic books.

One of the most beautiful lessons he and my African friends have taught me — and they have taught me many in the fine art of living — is that the greatest abundance, that which lights the clearest flame of joy in one's heart, is of a nonmaterial nature. I'll never forget a discussion I had on this theme with Ibrahim, his son Ali, and Thelonius, a black American anthropologist, during a moonlit night in Kinklibe, Ibrahim's village. Thelonius was telling us how rich Western businessmen touring the Dogon region in Mali (world famous among art connoisseurs for its sculpture), had come upon a superb pair of sculptured doors which hung in a village chief's house.

"He immediately asked the chief, through an interpreter, of course, if he could buy them," said Thelonius, who at that time was living in the Dogon village.

At first the chief was indignant. "Why do you want my doors?" he asked. "Don't you have a door on your house?" Thelonius had inwardly chuckled; he knew the businessman had a large mansion with full-time day and night guards, burglar alarms and watch-dogs. "I am just asking you if you'll sell me your doors," the man repeated, "for 50,000 Malian francs." And he waved 10,000 Fr bills in the chief's face. The chief was visibly taken back; that was at least a year's income for him. He hesitated. These "toubabs" (white men) were hard to comprehend. But he had not paid his taxes because the harvest had been very poor . . . "75,000." The industrialist added five more notes to the wad.

"It was the most obscene thing I had ever seen in my life," Thelonius added. "This foreigner with 2 cameras at his belt and an embarrassed interpreter, adding bill upon bill until the chief said, 'Come into my hut,' because the whole village was by then assembled."

He gave in at 150,000 Fr, that is, at \$300, a small, dry crumb for the businessman. The next day a Land Rover came from the capital — 300 miles away — to fetch the century-old doors while gaping villagers watched. So their doors were as precious as that? Their doors were really money?

Today, in the businessman's home country, these doors are insured for \$16,000. Today also, in the Dogon country, you will not find any more original carved doors. These century-old symbols — literally priceless, for how do you fix a price on beauty, on memories, on symbols? — have been turned into money. They are no longer valued as expressions of beauty or of culture. They have become things. We Westerners have turned thoughts into things to be possessed. Hoarded. Hidden away from envious collectors. And above all to be insured. Not to be loved, but to be insured.

"That's the main problem with you Westerners," Ibrahim interjected, "you turn ev-



Photograph courtesy of CIRIC, Geneva  
**Morning reflection:** Photograph by Michael Renedeau

anything into money. Everything you touch. It's as if you had big paintbrushes and went round the world painting large DM, \$, Fr or £ signs onto everything you see."

"So we do," Thelonius added (or Moses as his friends called him) because of his immense beard that came halfway down his chest. The favorite pastime of children in Kinklibe was to hold on to Moses's beard and

swing gently, a privilege accorded only rarely to the deserving few, not because Thelonius was stingy, but because it hurt. "We say Mr. Jones has really made it. He's got a \$60,000 job." The job may be utterly boring, it may drive Mrs. Jones to despair, but he still has a \$60,000 job. Is it creative? Does it give him joy? Is it one of service to

others? These questions are never raised. Can you imagine a job ad in an American newspaper running like this: "A creative, loving, joyful person to lead a wonderful group of people in a work of a great service to the community. Spiritual and moral qualities are essential, academic backgrounds of less importance. The exciting nature of the challenging opportunity to grow and help others to grow, compensates for the modest salary." All and I burst out laughing.

All said slyly, smiling. "Time is money you say. But doesn't that sum up the spiritual misery of a civilization? Real time is the occasion, renewed day after day, to start living. Time is a pair of cupped hands that you lift up towards heaven that they may be filled with beauty and joy, friends and parents, love and gentleness, courage and trust, children of your hopes, dreams of holiness and adventure. Real living destroys time, and hence the pursuit of money and the belief that money can buy joy."

I looked at Maimouna, Ibrahim's daughter, a goddess come to earth if there ever was one. She sighed at me — there was a special bond of affection between us that I'd never experienced before with a woman. She was a sister, and a friend, and a spiritual mate, and yet something more I could not define. . . . It was like a spider's thread between two flowers in the rising sun.

"You can't buy that, can you?" It was Ibrahim. He had been observing me carefully. Maybe he understood more than we did about this bond — delicate yet powerful to the point of unbreakability.

As he spoke, something became clear to my mind. That was it. The secret of what dance is to dematerialize. To know and feel and rejoice that all real joy, all real dance is nonmaterial. We in the West do done just the opposite. We turn thought-to-motherhood, of an African mask, of the beauty of a woman, of athletic achievement almost everything we touch — into things to be commercialized, owned, stored away in bank safes . . .

I admit that I own certain "objects" which I cherish: a beautiful Seoul mask and a 30-year-old carved Berber chest. They used to mean a lot to me as things. I used to think "If ever the house catches fire, I'll smash up my Senouf mask." (The Berber coffee is a bit too heavy — 250 pounds — to carry out of a window and down a fireman's ladder.) But today, if I learned they had burned, it would be difficult even to be sad for they have become a part of me. Their place is in my soul. I have looked at them so many times that nothing can take them from me, neither fire nor termites, thieves nor rots.

Then I began to think further and saw that if you say, "I own this rare Ming vase that stands in the corner of my home. It's insured for \$35,000," what you are really saying is "This Ming vase owns me. I am owned by a belief that beauty can be possessed by one person, stolen by another, or destroyed by an accident." So you are really telling people about yourself, about your fears. You don't have to tell them about your glorious vase, because if they have eyes, they will see it.

Its beauty, whether it is Ming or a simple earthenware Tuareg jar from the Sahara, is not material, for everything beautiful I have ever seen, every courageous act I've ever witnessed, every gesture of love I've ever admired, every friend I've cherished, I carry around with me, every day, every hour, not as memories of the past or hopes of the future, but as examples and realities to be enjoyed and treasured now.

Sometimes I think I am the richest person on earth. Pierre Praderay

## Wrong words, right meanings

An official guidebook to a country, or to a region, is in general a predictable affair: blandly picturesque, useful, and of course prejudiced, but scarcely of literary interest. It is designed, furthermore, to be read either before visiting, or at least while there, to help in planning itineraries, sifting the sights, acknowledging the monuments. Afterwards it may serve as a territorial reminder, a souvenir — seldom more.

My own recent first visit to the Italian island of Sardinia was too sudden to permit its customary order of service. It came as a writer's windfall, with only two days to plan and little enough time to stay. The chunky white guidebook, filled with deep-colored, crystalline photos of this Mediterranean place — just south of Corsica and northwest of Sicily — was put in my hands after arriving. But I was too busy looking around me, asking questions and listening to answers, to do more at that time than glance at a few pictures of the southern coastal section that I was visiting, a hoped-for new Riviera. Besides, again, this was not supposed to be a book to read.

How wrong, in this case, were those suppositions! A few days after returning home I read further for facts, and found myself re-reading words, retracing phrases, exploring sentences and paragraphs. This guidebook, at least in its English version (and looking for a translator I see only one name, Mario Tognoli as publisher, in Livorno) illuminates a number of its many facts with experiences in language which delve beyond the place to the people, raise questions, fling out illuminating, confirming answers.

Let's begin with the climate. "Sardinia is right in the center of an area of almost steady low pressure and is therefore blasted by the winds. (Blasted? Yes, blasted!) The wind-blowing contributes to the formation of some cardinal sceneries with the rocks (cq) erosion, the piling of dunes along the coast and the frequent catching fire of the woods." What kind of reverent place is this? (And in whose dictionary, I wonder, do you find "cardinal"?!) First of all it is a shoreline, sometimes "jagged into many tiny bays, promontories and coves often encircled by little islands, surrounded by sun-scorched reefs. . . . If one goes deeper inland he will discover a mountain world often wild and extremely rugged, guarding all the primeval impressing grandiosity. (Why is this "wrong" English word so much more right than "grandeur") of the long-time neglected original claim of this island."

And how about the people who have survived such formidable charms? They go back to Neolithic settlers who "lived on hunting and fishing besides getting nourishment out of the spontaneous products of the land. . . ." And they include by 1800 to 1500 B.C. the builders of the still-prehistoric nuraghe, unique and prolific on Sardinia. The guidebook's description of these takes off with characteristic bite after taxicling for a seolana or

"In its simplest expression the nuraghe is a truncated cone of stones roughly cut and overlaid without any mortar, covered with a false dome. More than 7,000 are the remains, more or less conspicuous, of these buildings scattered all over the island most time in towering isolated positions like for defense purposes or as watch towers, often more complex and taller, with two or three stories, sometimes surrounded by defensive structures, tall walls like true castles."

Louis Chaplin

## Is lending the answer?

Since supply and money are not synonymous, we need to know some of the characteristics of each. Money is at best a symbol of supply and can be used up. Divine supply consists of spiritual ideas, which are inexhaustible.

The Bible tells us, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Therefore everything belongs to God, who made all. But man's real, spiritual being reflects the intelligence and love and goodness of God. This truth can be brought into practical expression through our awareness of man's divine inheritance. In the absolute sense, no person on earth can give us anything we don't already have; nor can any person on earth deprive us of anything either.

I have on many occasions made loans and given money to others in an attempt to meet their financial needs. These loans were seldom repaid, and additional requests were often made. When gifts were given to friends, they sometimes felt obligated or embarrassed, which resulted in strained relationships. After many years of disappointments and financial losses, I realized there was usually a spiritual need behind the outward appearance of lack. The last call I had was from an out-of-town acquaintance requesting money for car repairs. I felt I had to get a deeper understanding of what constituted supply. Would lending money to this person really help him rise above his continual need for money? Would it increase his own spiritual growth, which seemed staled in this instance? Was I only prolonging the problem by supporting it with temporary funds?

Miss Cannas let us climb into in out of the pitch-black instances with a week flashlight and with intense flashes of authority — of proprietorship. These were for the moment her nuraghe, rising out of her own broad valleys between sharp and spiny hills. Her feeling for them epitomized the tough Sardinian sense of a land layered with and surviving other people's attempts to possess it: Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Vandals, Byzantine, Pisan, Spanish, and Piedmontese.

After our Nuragic morning came lunch in the modern village of Barumini, around the cheerful dining-table of a family-run locanda. Outside it was sunny, but inside the heat bit chilly — until the hostess brought in a round, tray-like basket of glowing coals and slipped it under the table at our feet.

No thermostat could have so perfected the climate in that room. As we enjoyed the shell-shaped pasta, Matilde Cannas thought of a Sardinian saying: "Se domo e pittucco, su coru e mamma." When the house is small, the heart is big. There's a legend, she went on, that Daedalus was welcomed in Sardinia when he and his son Icarus made wings and flew away from Crete, though Icarus soared too near the sun and dropped into the sea. The same spirit exists between neighbors; even today, if a shepherd loses one of his sheep, a nearby shepherd will give him another.

Later, the big bowl of fruit showed warmth for the eye as well, especially in its small but deep-colored oranges. Without thinking, I asked Miss Cannas if they were organic. Though her instant answer forgave me, it was as intense as if I had in that casual question just doubted everything she had said about Sardinia. "Oh yeah. Yes. Our sun, our land makes those."

So domo e pittucco . . . it's a small land. So the heart of course is big, with its spontaneous products." And Tognoli's gusty guidebook, I say, makes for adventurous and startlingly "accurate" reading about Sardinia.

Enclosed is £1.80 plus 30p to cover postage and handling.

we have made our own and are applying to everything in our own lives?

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, says of the far-reaching effect of right thinking: "Good thoughts are an impervious armor; clad therewith you are completely shielded from the attacks of error of every sort. And not only yourselves are safe, but all whom your thoughts rest upon are thereby benefited."

With the realization that money cannot give us the good life, we then need to turn to God as the source and substance of our supply of health and happiness. And we can do this with assurance.

Psalms 24:1; See Acts 3:6-8; The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany, p. 210.

## The healing touch of God's love

In the Bible God promises, "I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds."

Are you longing for a greater assurance of God's healing care? Perhaps a fuller and deeper understanding of God may be required of you. A book that can help you is *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* by Mary Baker Eddy. This is a book that brings to light God's ever-present goodness, His power and His love.

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# OPINION AND...

**Joseph C. Harsch**

## The Disraeli syndrome

The two Democratic Presidents who preceded Richard Nixon in the White House — John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson — wanted to reopen the lines of diplomatic conversation between Washington and Peking. Both held off out of fear of the political consequences. Richard Nixon, a Republican with a record of loud anticommunism, did it.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath wanted above all during his stay at 10 Downing Street to bring about an "incomes policy" — meaning a curb on the annual round of wage rises which have been a major cause of Britain's inflation. Mr. Heath tried — and was brought down in failure. His Labour Party successor, Harold Wilson, persuaded the labor movement in Britain to accept two years of remarkable wage restraint. A third year is presently in negotiation.

Republican President Gerald Ford wanted above all to curb the present American inflation. He even launched a propaganda campaign, replete with islet buttons and slogans, called WIN — Whip Inflation Now. The campaign was abandoned and forgotten in a Republican stampede to try to prove that it wasn't antilabor after all. Mr. Ford's successor, Jimmy Carter, is moving against inflation with a firmness and consistency which Republicans envy. He is doing what they wanted to do.

All of which merely proves that the performance of a given politician or political party in office is not to be judged by the record of said person or party before it took office. The world has one appearance to those out of office trying to get in and sometimes quite another appearance to the new insiders.

As a candidate Mr. Carter sounded suitably liberal in the tradition of the Democratic Party. The overtones were populist. Bankers, burghers, merchants, and manufacturers trembled at the thought of such a person in the White House. But who is complaining about Mr. Carter today? Organized labor and the "liberals" are loud in their disapproval. And the most interesting fact of the moment on the American political scene is Mr. Carter's own untroubled, and slightly amused, indifference to their protests.

"One of the characteristics of some liberals," said Mr. Carter in his latest news conference, "is that they are very difficult to please." He went on to claim that there has been no disruption of his relationship with either the labor movement or the self-styled liberal groups. But as far as he is concerned they are "very difficult to please" and he obviously is not going out of his way to try to please them.

Indeed, Mr. Carter's carelessness about the protests from the traditional liberals of his party has become his first characteristic and is

becoming his biggest asset. People who were against him in the beginning on the assumption that being a Democrat would automatically make him a "spendthrift liberal" are rediscovering an almost forgotten tact, that throughout American history the Democrats have been conservative more often than liberal.

In modern political history the first prominent politician to capitalize on doing the opposite of what he was expected to do was Benjamin Disraeli. He was a Tory and leader of the Tory party, but he instituted many a reform. He outflanked the Liberal Party of Britain — on the left. He made the Tory party the champion of the poor and underprivileged and exploited. The Liberals of that day became the party of the managerial and propertied classes. To this day some members of the working classes in Britain still think of the Tories as their real friends. Roughly a third of the working-class vote goes usually to Conservative candidates.

Richard Nixon heard about Disraeli from Patrick Moynihan, now the junior Senator from the State of New York. Mr. Nixon had "Disraeli period" when he tried to promote a broad reform of the welfare system in the United States. His economic policies reflected greater concern for labor votes than for middle-class voters. He became just another Keynesian with his unbalanced budgets.

But the biggest surprise of all to most Americans came when the man who tracked down Alger Hiss and built his political career on communism, went to communist Peking and was applauded.

I have heard it said that President Kennedy would have tried to open the doors to Peking during his second term. His predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had wanted to do it. In case restraint was a matter of public consistency. A major feature of the Republicans' campaign of 1962 was the charge that the Democrats had delivered China to communism. Since Ike had ridden that charge into the White House he could scarcely have turned right around and recognized those same communists. And after him came Kennedy and Johnson who were sensitive to the old Republic can charge that Democrats were "soft on communism." Both felt they had to prove the contrary.

Which left the field wide open for Mr. Nixon. And the same syndrome works today in the area of domestic politics. Republicans have so often been accused of being antipeople and callous to human need that they have to lean far backward to try to prove that they really are people after all. Which has left the way open for Mr. Carter to practice precisely the policies which Republicans love — but dare not practice.

The Soviets would certainly like to spread their ideology, their political and economic system, their control and influence, as widely as possible. In that they are also not unlike other great powers, though they are more obsessed by their own doctrines than others have been in modern times.

On the other hand, the Soviets have usually been conservative in the means used to spread their doctrines. The only cases in which they have dispatched military forces outside their

borders have been in conjunction with world wars. Were it not for World War II, they would not now be in occupation of Eastern Europe. They have, however, in important instances encouraged allies, such as North Korea and Cuba, to undertake external military action.

There are few grounds for believing, and many for disbelieving, that the Soviets would in any foreseeable future initiate either a nuclear or a large-scale conventional war. They are acutely aware that the former, regardless of how successful an initial attack might be, would almost inevitably result in the destruction of much of the industrial base and controlled society they have striven so hard to create, and might in fact result in the overthrow of their system. As to large-scale conventional war, they are convinced it would, necessarily and quickly, become nuclear.

A further central aim, again like that of other nations, is the growth of their own economy and an improvement in their standard of living. They have made great strides in this respect, but still lag far behind the West in many sectors. To continue to progress, to prevent falling even farther behind, they need both

peace and access to Western technology and supplies. Hence the policy of détente.

Finally, they have over the past half century forged an extensive arsenal of political weapons for the exercise and occasionally the imposition of their will abroad — communist parties, communist-controlled "liberation" movements, military and economic aid, an immense bureaucratic apparatus of subversion and espionage.

The United States has created and widely used similar instruments, but usually in reaction to communist intrusions. This ideological struggle, as the Soviets euphemistically call it, takes place at their initiative and on their insistence.

If these are the main constituents of Soviet foreign policy, how is that policy likely to be exercised in the present international environment, and what are appropriate Western responses?

As long as détente — that is, arms control and some degree of accommodation in Europe — continues to be Soviet policy, it will be in the Western interest to respond and to push farther along this road. An open society has more

to gain by whatever degree of interpenetration is possible than a closed society.

Since war in Europe is unlikely, except through a series of mutual miscalculations, the main "threat" there arises not from Soviet strength but from Western weakness, economic stagnation, social disorder, political disunity. The appropriate Western response is therefore an intensification of the process of Western association, of which the recent summit in London was an example. However, far more is required to cure these ills than symbolic meetings of heads of government.

The other area in which Soviet external aims pose dangers is in systematic intrusion into the third world in the name of "liberation." The West must continue to demonstrate to the Kremlin that this exercise is both unprofitable and dangerous.

To sum up, it is the political and economic weakness of much of Europe and the third world which poses the most urgent task for the United States and its allies, for more than any shortcomings in their military posture.

—1977 Charles W. Yost

## Children — a \$64,000 question

**Melvin Maddocks**

ond or third child? Still another passage for crowded Spaceship Earth!

It has all happened so quickly, this devaluation of the family, in a kind of 20-year time lag, people still make the joke that motherhood and the flag are the last sacred objects, though, of course, nothing could be further from the truth. Young people have to "explain" why they got married and have children the way they once had to "explain" why they did not.

We ask not what marriage and family have to give but what they take away. And do we ever find the answers! When the family is considered as an academic or journalistic topic, voices go deep and gloomy. Divorce rates keep being counted — 95 divorced for every 100 Americans married last year. We dwindle on battered wives and latchkey children. A network does a full-length documentary on incest, 1977.

The family is in terminal trouble — and well it deserves to be. This is the only slightly overstated message we persist in feeding back to ourselves. The White House has scheduled a Conference on Families for 1970, rather as if the family had become like the whooping crane — a threatened species, worthy of preservation for old-time's sake, though nobody can quite remember why.

A final bit of bookkeeping: Even if we may think that, in every sense, we can afford a child, can the world afford him or her, especially if we are talking about a sec-

We act as if our family-revering ancestors were masochists who made life as hard as possible for themselves. Instead of running water, the bucket and the well, and instead of a "meaningful relationship" — can you imagine? — they got married and had children.

Even advocates of the family, like Uri Bronfenbrenner, professor of child-development at Cornell, seem to speak with their backs against the wall. "Does family life?" Dr. Bronfenbrenner asks defiantly in the current Psychology Today, "hurt people as badly as no care at all?"

For an age notorious for its lack of convictions, how positive we are in our condemnations! We are nearly at the point of saying anything would be better than marriage and family.

And now a prediction: The bottom is about to be hit. Any day some particularly disillusioned person will read Jonathan Swift's famous solution for the family — "A Modest Proposal" — as only half-joking. When that day comes, the downward trend will, of course, immediately reverse itself, and as radically as usual in such matters.

Twenty years from now marriage and family life will be no more and no less difficult than today, but the Zeitgeist will be all on its side, led by the grandchildren of Margaret Mead. And the paper shortage will be relieved by the recycling of yellowing Meaningful Relation greeting cards, overstocked by manufacturers with no instinct for social change.

"Meaningful relationship"? What was that?

## Readers write

### Mr. Nixon, baby seals, children

It is destructive to the spirit to once again witness Richard Nixon being presented with the opportunity to vindicate his crimes. He draws upon the pity of the American people by skillfully soliciting our most base emotional responses. But the first Nixon-Frost interview confirmed that the ex-President allowed no skill in disputing the facts pointing to his legal and moral guilt in the Watergate affair and surrounding crimes.

Richard Nixon has become a master at donning apologetic robes without ever apologizing for matters of consequence. He apologized for not recognizing their guilt and (in his words) for not being enough of a "butcher." How appalling that in all of these "apologies," in all of the various ways he has "admitted" to letting us down, comes not one word of admission to being any sort of personal criminal or of moral guilt.

Needless to say, the cover-up continued on May 4, 1977. — Roberta D. Matthews

Seal hunters

May I comment, please, on Mr. Kenneth Crossman's letter from Ontario, published in Long Beach, N.Y. — Roberta D. Matthews

the May 16 issue of The Christian Science Monitor?

In reply to his third paragraph, there is a well-known organization in this country — The National Society for the Abolition of Factory Farming, with headquarters in London — to which many people of humane character subscribe. We do not eat broilers or veal, nor eggs other than the free-range variety.

As to his fourth paragraph, I agree that the method of cooking lobster is utterly disgraceful; I have heard that there are investigations afoot to try out other methods.

As to his comments on Canada's seal hunt, Mr. Crossman cannot surely excuse brutality on any grounds?

— Mrs. P. M. Reid

The learning process

We invite readers' letters for this column, of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

Learning to write is usually part of the pro-

cess of learning to read. The child's own language is used (no mention of Spanish or phonics.) The teacher or parent prints the text supplied by the child, which it later copies and illustrates. Its own book is soon evidenced e.g.

I went with mommy to the seaside. I made a castle. Very soon it is reading from its own vocabulary with a natural development.

The use of dead words to the child, e.g. cur-

ries, becomes deChristianized, religiously neutral, the main churches in Britain have been increasingly driven together. Financial and manpower shortages have made it impossible to maintain so many buildings for so few worshippers.

In England, the main Congregational and Presbyterian churches came together five years ago to form the United Reformed Church. But in attempting to reunite the Anglican, Congregational and Methodist churches on Anglican principles.

Dear to the heart of many Anglicans is reunion with Rome. The Church of England insists that it is still "Catholic" in the sense of being

Rome. So when Dr. Coggan, a keen traveller, set out on an ecumenical fence-mending tour it was to Istanbul (ancient Constantinople) as well as to Rome and to Geneva, where the World Council of Churches has its headquarters.

What was achieved by the Archbishop's negotiations? At least, agreement to keep on talking just as all sides were beginning to feel bogged down and exhausted. Dr. Coggan also succeeded in appealing to the faithful, over the heads of their hierarchies, to take up where the theologians had left off and to do things with their fellow Christians — in particular to launch joint missions of evangelization. It is a strong conviction of the Archbishop that far from fortifying some last redoubt, Christians should take the offensive into a world which he believes is hungry for the gospel. If only it could hear it.

As congregations shrink and urban populations become deChristianized, religiously neutral, the main churches in Britain have been increasingly driven together. Financial and manpower shortages have made it impossible to maintain so many buildings for so few worshippers.

In England, the main Congregational and Presbyterian churches came together five years ago to form the United Reformed Church. But in attempting to reunite the Anglican, Congregational and Methodist churches on Anglican principles.

Dear to the heart of many Anglicans is reunion with Rome. The Church of England insists that it is still "Catholic" in the sense of being

orthodox. All of which is quite shocking to the great

Orthodox Churches of the East, as it is to the

Orthodox Churches of the West.

— Mr. Remy is a British journalist based in London.

# COMMENTARY

**Charles W. Yost**

## The Kremlin would rather be safe than conquerors

Moscow

A visit to Moscow offers the occasion to probe once more what Winston Churchill called a riddle wrapped in an enigma — that is, the real aims of the Kremlin. As one who has been observing the Soviets at firsthand since the San Francisco and Potsdam conferences in 1945, I have some warrant for risking this hazardous enterprise.

I have heard it said that President Kennedy would have tried to open the doors to Peking during his second term. His predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had wanted to do it. In case restraint was a matter of public consistency. A major feature of the Republicans' campaign of 1962 was the charge that the Democrats had delivered China to communism. Since Ike had ridden that charge into the White House he could scarcely have turned right around and recognized those same communists.

There are few grounds for believing, and many for disbelieving, that the Soviets would in any foreseeable future initiate either a nuclear or a large-scale conventional war. They are acutely aware that the former, regardless of how successful an initial attack might be, would almost inevitably result in the destruction of much of the industrial base and controlled society they have striven so hard to create, and might in fact result in the overthrow of their system.

The Soviets would certainly like to spread their ideology, their political and economic system, their control and influence, as widely as possible. In that they are also not unlike other great powers, though they are more obsessed by their own doctrines than others have been in modern times.

On the other hand, the Soviets have usually been conservative in the means used to spread their doctrines. The only cases in which they have dispatched military forces outside their

borders have been in conjunction with world wars. Were it not for World War II, they would not now be in occupation of Eastern Europe. They have, however, in important instances encouraged allies, such as North Korea and Cuba, to undertake external military action.

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Finally, they have over the past half century forged an extensive arsenal of political weapons for the exercise and occasionally the imposition of their will abroad — communist parties, communist-controlled "liberation" movements, military and economic aid, an immense bureaucratic apparatus of subversion and espionage.

The United States has created and widely used similar instruments, but usually in reaction to communist intrusions. This ideological struggle, as the Soviets euphemistically call it, takes place at their initiative and on their insistence.

If these are the main constituents of Soviet foreign policy, how is that policy likely to be exercised in the present international environment, and what are appropriate Western responses?

As long as détente — that is, arms control and some degree of accommodation in Europe — continues to be Soviet policy, it will be in the Western interest to respond and to push farther along this road. An open society has more

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